Volume 25, No. 1 Spring Number, 1936

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

CONTENTS

PAGE

Roberts Hall and Founders Hall, Haverford College.....*Frontispiece*
Summer Meeting, Friends' Historical Association..... 3
In Memoriam, Walter Brinton..... 6
Notes on Whittier and Haverford College.....Edward D. Snyder 7
Rhymes (for S. Lewis).....J(ohn) G. W(hittier) 10
Glimpses Into Haverford Quakeriana.....Joseph J. Mekeel 12
Roberts Vaux, 1836-1936.....Joseph J. McCadden 21
Roberts Vaux. From a painting by Inman....*Illustration facing page* 22
Facsimile of Flyleaf and Title Page of Book Used by Roberts Vaux. *Illustration facing page* 24
Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier. Transcribed and edited by Edward D. Snyder and Anna B. Hewitt..... 33
Facsimile of Letter of John G. Whittier.....*Illustration facing page* 36
Book Reviews: William I. Hull, *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania.*—Arthur T. Mekeel, *Quakerism and a Creed.*—Anna Groh Seeholtz, *Friends of God: Practical Mystics of the Fourteenth Century.*—Karl Seipp, *John Bellers, ein Vertreter des frühen Quäkertums,* and A. Ruth Fry, *John Bellers: Quaker, Economist, and Social Reformer.*—Henry Bradford Washburn, *The Religious Motive in Philanthropy. Studies in Biography.*—Shorter notices..... 43
William Penn in the Hall of Fame..... 52

Communications on general Association matters should be addressed to Miss Anna B. Hewitt, Secretary, Friends' Historical Association, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania; manuscripts submitted for publication, and communications on editorial matters, should be addressed to Thomas K. Brown, Jr., Editor, Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association, 226 Dickinson Ave., Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

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Volume 25, No. 1 Spring Number, 1936

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

SUMMER MEETING FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE SUMMER meeting of the FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION was held on the grounds and in appropriate buildings of Haverford College, at Haverford, Pennsylvania, on the afternoon of Saturday, May 16, 1936. The weather was perfect, and the trees and lawns of the College provided a background of unusual beauty to the exercises.

The formal meeting was held in Roberts Hall at 3:30 P. M., President Comfort presiding. After a welcome and introductory remarks by the President, the following papers were read, bearing on the manuscripts and other treasures, and especially on the Quaker collections, in the possession of the College:

Literary Material in the Roberts Collection
WILLIAM A. REITZEL, *Assistant Professor of English*
Haverford College

Some Whittier Manuscript in the Roberts Collection
EDWARD D. SNYDER, *Professor of English*
Haverford College

Glimpses into Haverford Quakeriana
ARTHUR J. MEKEEL, *Instructor in American History*
Haverford College

After the reading of these papers, some of which are reprinted in the later pages of this issue of the BULLETIN, members were invited to visit three different exhibits, and to tour the campus to become acquainted with its more interesting features.

The nearest exhibit was that of the Quakeriana in the Roberts collection, which had been arranged for general view by Anna B. Hewitt, Secretary of the FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION and Assistant Curator of the Quaker Collections.

GOLBROOK LIBRARY PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

In the Library was an arrangement of some of the more beautifully bound volumes of the Jenks collection—a collection of early Quaker tracts remarkable for its completeness, and distinguished by the unusual beauty of some of the bindings. This exhibit had been arranged by Amy L. Post, Assistant Librarian of the Haverford College Library.

In Sharpless Hall was an exhibit of pottery from Beth Shemesh, Palestine, part of the priceless yield of Dr. Elihu Grant's excavating expeditions. This collection has been authoritatively called "the finest exhibit of Palestinian materials in America today." Professor John W. Flight, who had arranged the pottery, has kindly contributed the following account of it:

The archaeological materials exhibited in the Haverford Archaeological Museum represent the discoveries made during five campaigns of the Haverford Expedition, between 1928 and 1933, conducted by Professor Elihu Grant on the Palestinian site of old Beth Shemesh (cf. 1 Sam. 6:9-20, 2 Kings 14:11, *et al.*). Many important contributions in the field of Biblical archaeology have been made by the work of these expeditions and find frequent mention in books and periodicals on the subject.

Beth Shemesh is located about midway between Jerusalem and the Mediterranean in the district where the Samson episodes took place. The excavations yielded artifacts suggestive of every century from before 2000 B. C. to about 500 B. C., thus showing a cross section of the historical changes which occurred in this region during this entire period.

The cases in the museum contain a selection of some of the best materials, including pottery of all sizes, shapes, and uses, jewelry (gold, bronze, iron, faience), tools, cult objects, weapons, household utensils and importations from the Mediterranean islands and from Egypt, as well as local imitations of these, and purely local wares. Inscriptional specimens showing archaic Hebrew, Egyptian hieroglyphic and the recently discovered cuneiform alphabetic writing are also on display. The museum with its varied objects and the still larger reserve collection of sherds and additional specimens not yet placed on display furnish a fine laboratory for the study of Biblical peoples and times. Maps painted upon the walls, as well as the publications already issued on the work of the Haverford Expedition, serve still further to make vividly clear the social, political, and religious developments which took place in that region during more than a millenium and a half of time. The Biblical department of the

College deems it a privilege to show these collections to interested groups or individuals at appointed times.

The interesting trees and shrubs of the campus had been marked by the Campus Club of the College with large placards bearing pertinent names and dates. A tour of the campus was led by Edward Woolman, who has kindly contributed the following:

As there are more than 150 varieties of trees known to be growing on the College grounds, and also as the trip all around the Nature Walk is fully two miles in length, there was not time remaining after the exercises in Roberts Hall for us to visit more than the trees growing on the College campus proper.

The oldest trees on the campus, which contribute most to the charm and glory of its environment, are the white oaks. These are well over 150 years old. There are also several red oaks that are almost as old.

The Campus Club had erected markers on the trees having some special interest.

We first stopped to enjoy the great American elm, growing near the eastern end of Founders Hall. This bore an inscription which stated it to be the grandson of the William Penn Treaty Tree of Shackamaxon Park, Philadelphia. This tree was the gift of Joshua L. Baily, and must be about seventy years old.

There is also a group of seven American elms growing in front of Barclay Hall, which are also scions of the Penn Treaty Elm, being great-grandsons. These were obtained from Thomas Meehan, of Germantown, and were the gift of Caleb C. Wistar, H. C. '65.

Towering above Founders Hall, and immediately in front, are two grand old gingko trees—the trees that have no enemies. These were planted at the suggestion of Samuel Parsons, H. C. '62, author, and landscape architect for the parks of New York City. Also in front of Founders and flanking the walk to the Gymnasium we passed two pyramidal Swiss stone pines.

Farther along this walk, on the left hand, we stopped in front of a perfect specimen of pin oak. The marker stated that it had been dedicated to Lady Darwin, wife of Sir George Darwin, the son of Charles Darwin, at the time of her visit to the College in 1906, when she was the guest of the Philadelphia Philosophical Society.

Then turning towards the Library we first passed a large specimen of white ash, and then stopped to admire a maple in full bloom. Someone noticing a slight difference in the leaves

from our common maples, an old story was told that the Sycamore Maple was named in England as it was used in the old Miracle Plays in place of the Biblical "Sycamore Tree" on account of its broad leaves.

Approaching the sunken garden we passed under a vastly spreading mossy-cup oak. The Mary Newlin Smith Memorial Garden was next visited. Dedicated in memory of a faithful matron of the College, it is one of our most beautiful spots. The centre-piece of its lovely greensward is the old cedar, planted in 1833 when the College was first opened. Just outside this garden sprawls the old osage orange tree, now mostly enjoyed by small boys and girls for climbing and riding the lower limbs. Near by is the memorial tablet to William Carvil, who in 1834 took charge of the first plantings.

Just across from the osage orange tree is a fine specimen of willow oak, which is more common in Southern gardens. Near the Hall of Chemistry is an old American beech. Two beautiful copper beeches were near at hand.

Another sign of the Campus Club pointed to the Serpentine Walk. But no one indicated a desire to investigate its winding charms, as the Gymnasium was right there, where ice cream and coffee were awaiting all.

But before our party broke up, mention was made of the recent planting by the Leidy Microscopic Club of three basket oaks, in memory of one of their members, T. Chalkley Palmer, H. C. '82; of another rare tree, the Franklinia, the gift of a friend of the College; and also of the tree which is probably the oldest on the grounds, the old white ash which is growing near the Nature Walk on the west. This tree is 175 years old, as scaled by the state forester.

According to the Association's usual manner, members had provided their own box suppers, and now gathered in knots on the lawn before the Gymnasium to enjoy them. Coffee and ice cream were served in the Gymnasium.

In Memoriam

WALTER BRINTON, July 10, 1859—May 7, 1936

Member of Council of Friends' Historical Society, 1918-1924

Member of Board of Directors of Friends' Historical Association, 1924-1936

NOTES ON WHITTIER AND HAVERFORD COLLEGE

By Edward D. Snyder

Condensed from an address delivered before the Friends' Historical Association meeting on Fifth Month 16, 1936.

THE WHITTIER items now in the possession of Haverford College are of special interest not only because of their intrinsic value but more especially because of the poet's recurrent contacts with Haverford College over something like half a century.

In 1838 Whittier visited Haverford in what he called "the day of small beginnings," and long afterwards he said, "The promise of usefulness which it then gave has been more than fulfilled." [1]

In the college year 1849-50 there came to Haverford as steward Whittier's cousin, Joseph Cartland,[2] who was promoted the following year to the position of Superintendent, that is, the chief administrative officer. As a result of his very close intimacy with the poet, people at Haverford College came to be especially familiar with Whittier's earlier poems. The references to this Joseph Cartland in Pickard's life of Whittier are so numerous that the tie between Whittier and Haverford from 1849 to 1853 appears to have been extremely close.

In 1860 the Faculty of Haverford College recommended that the honorary degree of Master of Arts be bestowed on Whittier, which was subsequently done by action of the Board of Managers. The College now has in its possession the original diploma presented to Whittier at that time, as well as the original minutes of the Faculty and of the Board of Managers, both of which have now been copied out and put conveniently on display along with the diploma.

In 1841 Whittier visited Abraham Pennock, who lived at Haverford and whose son was then preparing to enter the College.[3]

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[1] Whittier's Semi-Centennial letter to Haverford College. *History of Haverford College* (Philadelphia 1892), pp. 476-478; or *Semi-Centennial Celebration at Haverford College* (Philadelphia 1885), pp. 51-53.

[2] *History of Haverford College* (Philadelphia 1892), pp. 208-209.

[3] Pickard's *Life*, vol. 1, p. 269. *Matriculate Catalogue of Haverford College* (Philadelphia 1922), p. 43.

In the same year, 1860, the Everett Society of Haverford College made Whittier an honorary member, and presented him with a certificate of membership which has likewise come into the possession of Haverford College. The Everett Society certificate is as a matter of fact almost exactly like the College diploma in its physical appearance, and one must take more than a cursory glance at the display in our Roberts Collection to see which is the certificate and which the diploma for the Master's degree.

The Semi-Centennial of Haverford College in 1883 is rich with Whittier contacts. There is the letter to the late Professor Francis B. Gummere, of which the original is now in the Roberts Collection. There is the long and official letter to the College read at the Semi-Centennial celebration and reprinted in various places. (The original manuscript is not in the possession of the College, and it is earnestly hoped that if it should appear in some file of old letters, the present owner will notify the authorities of its whereabouts. See Note 1 for the references.) There is the poem on Whittier which Professor Francis B. Gummere [4] wrote in the same year, 1883, and there is the letter—dated only a little later—which Whittier wrote to Rufus M. Jones as Editor of *The Haverfordian*.[5]

In 1884 when the Friends' School (now the Moses Brown School) of Providence, Rhode Island, held exercises appropriate to the unveiling of a portrait of Whittier, it was President Thomas Chase of Haverford College who was the orator of the day.[6] The distinction which President Chase brought to Haverford in this and similar connections is a matter of common knowledge to the older generations of Haverfordians. To the younger generation, it may suffice to refer to the fact that President Eliot of Harvard liked to recall publicly that he himself had been privileged to study Sophomore Latin under Thomas Chase, who was then on the Harvard faculty.[7]

[4] The Gummere poem is quoted from the *Friends' Review* in *The Haverfordian*, vol. 5 (1884)), p. viii.

[5] The Rufus Jones letter is printed in *The Haverfordian*, vol. 6 (1885), p. 101.

[6] Extracts from the oration may be seen in *The Haverfordian*, vol. 6 (1884), pp. 20ff.

[7] For President Eliot's tribute to Haverford and to President Chase, see the *Friends' Review*, vol. 37 (1884), p. 489.

Late in the year 1885, Whittier exchanged letters with Charles Roberts of the class of 1864, who at that time was a Manager of Haverford College and Secretary of the Corporation. The letter from Whittier to Charles Roberts [8] happens to be one of the most interesting items in the famous collection of which Charles Roberts was the founder.

The Bass Otis portrait of Whittier, painted in 1837, was so far as we can discover the only youthful portrait of Whittier with which he himself was satisfied. The portrait is now owned by Haverford College and hangs in the outer room of the Roberts Collection. In this connection, it is interesting that the College also owns a Whittier letter [9] in which the poet speaks well of the Bass Otis painting and includes $5 transportation charges, so that his publishers may make use of it.

Immediately below this now hangs a copy of the much-discussed miniature (in profile) said to have been drawn in 1830.

Thanks to the generosity of Mrs. Charles Roberts and a few other friends of the College, we now have at Haverford no less than thirteen autograph letters signed by Whittier himself, and dating from 1842 until 1892. The interest attaching to these letters is sufficient to justify having them published in full with editorial explanation in this issue of the BULLETIN.

The latest important tie between Haverford College and Whittier dates from the spring of 1936, when Dr. Percival Nicholson, a graduate of the College, put his two volumes of early Whittier material, collected by Elizabeth Nicholson and Elizabeth Lloyd, at the disposal of a member of the Haverford College English Department for special study. To protect these two volumes against the possibility of fire or theft, they have been temporarily housed during this period of study in the Roberts Collection.

The earliest of all the Whittier autograph manuscripts now owned by Haverford College is a poem dated 1840, entitled "Rhymes for S. Lewis." So far as we are aware, the poem has

[8] For the full text of the letter, see page 41 of this issue of the BULLETIN.

[9] See the letter to Mr. Isaac Wendell on page 42 of this issue of the BULLETIN.

never been published in full until its appearance in this issue of the BULLETIN, page 11.

It is to be hoped that people who own Whittier autograph material of any sort whatever will earnestly consider the appropriateness of donating their manuscripts to Haverford College. The body of Whittier material already owned by the College is so significant, and the distinction of having any manuscript included in the great Roberts Autograph Collection is so satisfying, that one can hardly do better than to put one's manuscripts where they are most needed and will be most appreciated.

RHYMES (for S. Lewis)

The poem which follows has several features of special interest. It is written in the iambic pentameter couplets which Whittier seldom used and which would have been in style a hundred years earlier, in the age of Alexander Pope. It reflects the idea which Whittier's conscience often forced on him in early life, that to dawdle away his time in poetry was actually a sin in view of the great work for abolition that still remained to be done. The third section foreshadows, but in weak and conventional language, those remarkable descriptions of the rigorous New England winter so ably described in Snow-Bound. The last section, virtually a spiritual autobiography, brings the poem to an effective conclusion.

Whittier was evidently pleased with his four lines about "The Berkleyism of poetry," for he used them again almost verbatim in a longer poem which he wrote three months later in Volume I of the Nicholson Whittier Notebooks.

Through the courtesy of Mr. T. Franklin Currier of the Harvard College Library, whose bibliography of Whittier is now in the press, we are allowed to anticipate the following points which he has discovered and intends to bring out in the forthcoming bibliography. The woman for whom the *Rhymes* were written was Sarah Lewis of Philadelphia, with whom Whittier corresponded for some time; the last six lines only are included in Pickard's *Life*, page 562, approximately as here but without adequate identification; Whittier would seem to have contributed the lines to a volume *Autographs for Freedom* printed in Boston by John P. Jewett and Company in 1853, the lines there having the title "The Way" and being dated "Amesbury, 10th mo. 16, 1852."

We are not aware that the poem has ever been printed in its entirety until now, when it is done so by permission of Haverford College, owners of the autograph MS.

E. D. S.

Rhymes (for S. Lewis)

Accept this tribute of a passing line
From this tired brain and weary pen of mine
Yet ask no brilliant gift—my rhyming day
Haply hath passed forevermore away:
The idle dreams of the enthusiast boy
Imaginations sorrow and its joy,—
The Berkleyism of poetry, which sees
The real, a dream, and dreams realities—
The dim world of the Ideal—all the vain
And shadowy architecture of the brain,—
All this has passed away & soberer Truth
Forbids the follies and the sins of youth.

Yet I have promised—and I must fulfill
Like ancient Jeptha, tho against my will,—
A page of Poetry, expressly made
To order—just like any other trade—
Alas! I fear my fr[ien]d will deem it hard
To give a single "thank thee" as reward.

Yet a few days & I shall Eastward turn
Where on familiar hearths the home fires burn,
Where hill and tree and rock and river wear
A home-look—and the very Northern air
Sweeping from unthawed ices in its chill
And arrowy keenness, speaks of "old time" *still!*
From Pennsylvania's green abundant vales—
From the warm breathing of her soft south gales—
From fr[ien]ds whose kindness to their stranger guest
Lives in a warm and ever grateful breast—
From toil, he trusts, not wholly lost and vain,
The Yankee turns him to his home again!

Take then this tribute—when from slanders tongue
Reproaches on thy absent fr[ien]d are flung,
When far away,—his words, deeds, motives find
Interpreters in some illiberal mind,
Beleive [sic] *him still, as he has ever been*
The steadfast lover of his fellow men—
His weakness—love of holy Liberty—
His crime—the wish that all mankind were free—
Free not by blood—redeemed but not by crime—
Each fetter sundered—but in Gods own time.

2nd mo. 1840 J. G. W.

GLIMPSES INTO HAVERFORD QUAKERIANA

By Arthur J. Mekeel

THE QUAKER collection at Haverford College is one of those places to which anyone dealing with Quaker history naturally turns for information in his field. There one can find material from the earliest period of Quakerism to the latest. The purpose of this paper is to indicate broadly the type of historical data available and to give a glimpse into the successive periods of Quaker history here represented.

The William H. Jenks collection of Quaker pamphlets and tracts of the seventeenth century is one of the most important sources for that period.[1] This consists of about 1500 titles and was presented to the college by Mr. Jenks' widow. It deals primarily with English Quakerism and has been supplemented by later additions. For early American Quakerism, especially in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the Gulielma M. Howland[2] and Haddon-Estaugh-Hopkins[3] manuscript collections are of great value. The former was given by Rachel S. and Susan Howland and the latter by Rebecca Nicholson Taylor.

Smaller but interesting and important are the collections of family letters and other documents of the same period represented by the Allinson papers[4] donated by Caroline Allinson, the Barclay family letters, the letters of Anthony Benezet, mostly the gift of Charles Evans, and the Drinker letters given to the College by Henry S. Drinker, Jr.

There is also a wealth of material on nineteenth-century developments. The Howland and Haddon-Estaugh-Hopkins collections are valuable for the early part of the century. The Thompson family letters donated by the late Norman Penney cover the period from about 1760 to 1876, but deal mostly with the nineteenth century. The letters of Isaac Stephenson, an English Friend, comprise a smaller collection and were written to his family in England while he was on a religious visit to this country

[1] See *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association*, viii (1919), p. 27 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 28.
[3] See *Quakeriana Notes*, no. 2, p. 6 (Spring 1934); no. 4, p. 7 (Spring 1935).
[4] See *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association*, xx (1931), p. 21.

in the 1820's. For the middle period of the century there are the John Wilbur letters,[5] recently given by Agnes L. Tierney, and the Taylor collection,[6] presented to the College by Margaret Taylor MacIntosh. The latter item consists of a large number of letters written to Dr. Joseph W. Taylor and his brother Abram Taylor of Cincinnati, Ohio. It is one of the most extensive sources for the years it covers.

The needs of the Indians and Negroes were two of the chief social concerns of Friends in the last century. Their work among the Indians is fully represented at Haverford. Especially important in this line are the data connected with Thomas Wistar, Jr., one of the Friends most active in this work. Besides numerous letters of his in the Taylor collection, there is his manuscript diary and memoirs in six volumes, the gift of his grandson, Edward M. Wistar. Additional material is available in the journals of similarly interested Friends dating from the early accounts of the visits of David Bacon and Joshua Sharpless to the Indians in western Pennsylvania and New York in 1794 and 1798 respectively. These journals give an excellent picture of Indian life and customs in the periods and places which they treat. The Indian work of the latter half of the nineteenth century and opening years of the twentieth is shown in the John B. Garrett collection, the papers of the Quaker Indian agent Jonathan Richards, recently donated by Francis R. Taylor,[7] and the files of the Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs for the years 1895-1917.

The latest phase of Quaker activity in social problems is the work of the American Friends Service Committee. This was begun in an effort to alleviate conditions in war-torn Europe and has since continued in an ever widening program of social reconstruction. The first decade of the Committee's work, 1917-1927, is contained in the complete files for that period deposited at Haverford.[8]

Finally, there is in the Haverford collection a considerable amount of information relating to the history of the College

[5] See *Quakeriana Notes*, no. 6, p. 3 (Spring 1936)
[6] *Ibid.*, no. 5, pp. 3, 11 (Autumn 1935).
[7] See *Quakeriana Notes*, no. 5, p. 5 (Autumn 1935).
[8] See *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association*, xix (1930), p. 90 ff.

itself. This consists of correspondence, diaries, official records, and other documents. Recent issues of *Quakeriana Notes* have contained several extracts from student journals written in the early years of the life of the college.

Besides the items which have been mentioned there is a quantity of miscellaneous material both important and interesting but too extensive in its variety to be mentioned here. The Quaker material in the Library proper includes sets of Yearly Meeting Minutes of all branches of Friends, files of Friends' periodicals, and a comprehensive collection of pamphlets on the controversies and separations in the Society from the seventeenth century to the present.

WITH THE completion of this general survey of Quaker source material at Haverford we shall now turn to take a glance into the historical information contained there. Among over four hundred George Fox items there is a letter to King Charles II written in 1660 shortly after he ascended the throne. It explains the reason for the Quaker refusal to take an oath and declares that Friends should be allowed to hold their meetings unmolested. This letter indicates how Fox and Friends in general hoped for more tolerant treatment under the restored monarchy than they had received under the previous government. Within the last few weeks another Fox item, and one of great rarity, has been acquired. It is his *Catechisme for Children,* the edition of 1660, and is probably the only copy extant in this country.

On returning to William Penn we find there are ninety-seven titles representing him in the Jenks collection alone. There are also a number of deeds signed by members of the Penn family, six of them by Penn himself. Some of these are in the Haddon-Estaugh-Hopkins collection, and others have been given or are on indefinite loan through the kindness of friends of the College.

One of the more recently acquired Penn items is closely connected with the establishment of printing in Pennsylvania and the middle colonies. It is Penn's *The Excellent Priviledge of Liberty and Property,* on indefinite loan from the Representative Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch Street). It is

the only complete copy known to be in existence and was printed by William Bradford in Philadelphia in 1687.[9]

Last November was the two hundred fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of William Bradford in Pennsylvania where he established his printing business before the year was out. He came directly from London where he had learned his trade as an apprentice to Andrew Sowle, a Quaker printer. While in his employ Bradford joined Friends and married his master's daughter, Elizabeth, emigrating to this country shortly afterward. This year is the two hundred fiftieth anniversary of the printing of the first two Quaker works in America. One of these, *An Epistle from John Burnyeat to Friends in Pennsylvania*, which is possibly the first of the two,[10] is a treasure in the Haverford collection. It seems quite appropriate that a copy of one of the first Quaker works printed in America by the first printer in Pennsylvania, himself a Quaker, should be in the library of the first American Quaker college.[11]

William Bradford's stay in Philadelphia was brief. He became involved in the Keithian controversy and moved to New York

[9] See *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association*, xxi (1932), p. 101, for reproduction of title page; see also xxiv (1935), p. 87.

[10] According to the *American Bibliography* by Charles Evans (Chicago 1903), the only printing establishments in the colonies prior to 1685 were in Boston and Cambridge. There is mention of one in Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1683, but nothing more is heard of printing in Virginia until 1729. (Evans, *op. cit.*, I, p. 56.) There were anti-Quakeriana issues in Boston as early as 1658, *A Declaration* of the General Court against Quakers. (Evans, *op. cit.*, I, p. 11.) As cited above, printing was established in Philadelphia in 1685. There is a Bradford publication of 1686, *A General Epistle Given forth by the People of the Lord, called Quakers . . .*, the only extant copy known being in the library of Friends House, London. (N. Penney, *First Publishers of Truth*, p. 16, note 2.) It has not yet been possible to date this work definitely. Though it is quite probable that Burnyeat's *Epistle* is first, it is not possible to prove this point. At least we know it was second if not first.

[11] Miss Anna B. Hewitt, using information taken from the *Hand Book of the Religious Society of Friends* issued by the American Friends Service Committee, lists the following Friends' colleges in America in the order of their founding: Haverford College, Haverford, Pa., 1833; Guilford College, Guilford College, N. C., 1837; Pickering College, Newmarket, Ontario, Canada, 1842; Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, 1847; Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa., 1869; Wilmington College, Wilmington, Ohio, 1871; William Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa, 1873; Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa., 1885; Pacific College, Newberg, Oregon, 1885; Friends' University, Wichita, Kansas, 1898; Nebraska Central College, Central City, Nebraska, 1899; Whittier College, Whittier, California, 1901.

in 1693 where he again set up in the printing business. But before this he attempted to obtain the backing of Friends for a cherished project. In First Month, 1688, he submitted "To the half years Meeting of ffriends held at Burlington" a proposition, asking their "Concurrence and assistance therein so far as you think it of service, which is, that I have proposed to some ffriends, and laid it before our monthly meeting at Philadelphia concerning the printing of a large Bible in folio, by way of subscription . . ." Included in the letter is a plan for the printing project and the manner of its financing. This prospectus was later printed with a few modifications for general distribution, and the only known copy of the printed edition is in the possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.[12] Haverford possesses the original manuscript letter presented to Burlington Half Years Meeting. Though Friends were sympathetic and promised support, Bradford's plan did not materialize.

The Howland collection gives the next glimpse into Pennsylvania Quaker history. Among a number of Logan letters there is one dealing with the difficult situation in which the proprietary government found itself during Queen Anne's War due to the activities of French privateers along the unprotected coast of the colony. James Logan was sceptical of the practicality of the Quakers' maintaining their political control. In a letter of 1708 (the copy at Haverford in Logan's own handwriting showing the alterations made in the copy sent to Penn), he advised the Proprietor as follows:

> As for thy resigning all into the Queens hands . . ., I think (as I have repeatedly wrote) that most of thy fr^{ds} here who have any thought about them are agreed that it is the most advisable step thou canst take, especially if some tolerable terms can be made, and any thing can be gott for it. This last business of the Privateers upon our Coast infesting us above others, because unarm'd, has brought friends to a pretty general Confession, that a due administration of Governm^{t} (especially in a time of war) under an English Constitution, is irreconcilable with our Principles.

Penn evidently did not take Logan's advice.

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[12] Hildeburn, Charles R., *A Century of Printing. Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania, 1685-1784*, I, pp. 9-10.

About seventy years later Friends in Pennsylvania found themselves in an even more trying situation. The storm of revolution had broken around them. The event which perhaps impressed itself most on the minds of Philadelphia Friends was the temporary banishment of several of their number to Winchester, Virginia, for supposed traitorous connection with the British forces. The story of these Quaker exiles finds an important place in the Haverford collection. The Drinker letters mentioned above consist mostly of the correspondence between one of the exiles, Henry Drinker, and his wife, Elizabeth S. Drinker. The letters present an intimate and revealing account of the life of the exiles during their enforced sojourn as well as of the Drinker family in their home in Philadelphia during the British occupation.

Throughout that hectic winter of 1777-78 a number of petitions and appeals in behalf of these persecuted Quakers were presented to the national government and the state governments of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Two of these petitions are in the possession of the College. One of them, signed by the exiles, was presented to the Virginia legislature and is referred to in a letter from Henry Drinker to his wife dated "Winchester 10 mo: 12 1777" as follows: "About a week since we sent off a Memorial to the Governor & Council of Virg[a]. in which we set forth the arbitrary, lawless & Tyrannical conduct of our persecutors . . ."

Early the next year the wives and relatives of the exiles drew up a petition which they presented to the provincial legislature of Pennsylvania into whose care Congress had transferred the banished Quakers. Elizabeth Drinker and three others of the concerned wives made the difficult trip to Lancaster to intercede in behalf of their husbands when the petition was considered. The Council took the matter up on April 10, and a letter to their friends back in Philadelphia dated "4 mo: 10[th] 1778," tells the success of these four brave Quakeresses:

We have been to Lancaster—and had Conversation with ye President and several of ye Council, who treated us with politeness, and inform us that they had come to a conclusion to send for and conduct our Beloved Friends as far as Shipensburg, and there to set them at Liberty—but at our request, they have con-

sented to change that they shall come hither, or nearer home if we desire it . . .

Only two of the exiles failed to survive their unfortunate experience. But the effect of the privations and discomforts which they endured tells its sad tale in the following note in the Haddon-Estaugh-Hopkins collection signed by one of the exiles and addressed to "Benjamin Swett near Haddonfield." It is dated "4 mo: 22d 1779" and reads:

Dear Friend,

The Occasion of this is to Inform thee of the decease of our dear Father Israel Pemberton, whose Interment is to be on first day next, to meet at his late dwelling at 8 o'clock in the morning—thine and thy Wifes Company will be acceptable at that time, as will also Thomas Redmans & Wife & the Widow Hopkins, with any other Friends that may Incline to attend.

Thy Affect: Friend
Saml: Pleasants

Light on the difficulties facing Friends at that time is also found in the letters of Anthony Benezet. The problem of the payment of taxes for war purposes was not the least among them, and Benezet tried to give some helpful advice to George Dillwyn on the matter. In 7th month, 1780, he wrote to his friend as follows:

"What I mentioned to Sister Peggy was the desire I had to communicate parts of Moses Brown's letter relating to ye payment of taxes for ye purposes of war. This testimony he appears fully convinced is founded on Truth & sends me a copy of a letter he had purposed to send to friends in England on that head, but at the same time he appears very desirous friends should not do anything *in a wrong zeal,* not *according to knowledge more especially as he says it is a step in the reformation that crosses a received testimony in society more than perhaps any other, we had need to step wisely on it.*" [13] He adds, "It is apprehended that many difficulties friends were under at their first appearance, & the manner of the English collecting their taxes, being such that a refusal must have greatly encreased them, the

[13] The letter of Moses Brown from which this extract is taken is in the vault at Moses Brown School, and a copy of it is at Haverford. It is dated 3 mo. 9, 1780.

first reformers were excused from that burden, and permitted to pay them, that by so doing they might (as Geo: Fox in an Epistle on this subject 1659) better claim their liberty.[14] The Tryal (he further says) of those [who] may refuse the payment of taxes will be increased at this time by their conduct being construed into a disaffection to their country; and we hope will be *a bar to any's running in a forward spirit to become reformers without feeling the meek and humbling evidence of truth.*" Such advice is well worth the pondering of Friends today.

After this trying ordeal of war Philadelphia soon settled back into its accustomed life. Some interesting aspects of the city's history in the second decade of the next century are contained in the letters of Roberts Vaux in the Howland collection. One of them addressed to Samuel Emlen in London, dated "Arch St. Phil^{a}., 11 m^{o}. 1 1817," tells of local events as follows:

I might have mentioned that the asylum near Frankford is in successful operation, the 16th patient was admitted at the last meeting of the Visiting Managers.—The famous picture of *West,* presented to the Penn^{a}. Hospital is put up in the Building prepared for it, & will open for visitors (*at 25 cents each! the republican price for seeing a Bear or Monkey*) on 2nd day next the 3rd inst.

ONE OF THE BEST examples of manuscript source material for the nineteenth century which is available at Haverford is the Taylor collection referred to early in this paper. It can be divided into four main categories, though they are not all inclusive. First, there are the letters of Thomas Wistar, Jr., mentioned above, covering the years 1847-65. In the second place there is the correspondence of Dr. Joseph W. Taylor, consisting largely of letters written to him by Friends both in England and America when he was in England during the Civil War. Then there are the letters from Henry Rowntree to Abram Taylor when the latter was president of the "Contraband Relief Commission of Cincinnati" under which the former was working to aid the recently freed slaves. And finally there are the Joseph

[14] This letter is in Fox's *Works,* vii, p. 168-69, New York and Philadelphia, 1831. This second extract does not seem to be included in Moses Brown's letter, cited in note 13, and must have been contained in another letter to Benezet.

Bevan Braithwaite letters written to Dr. Joseph W. Taylor when the former was on a religious visit to this country in 1878. These letters furnish us with a striking picture of the social and religious condtions of the Society in the Middle West at that period.

Before concluding I wish to say a few words about the work of the Contraband Relief Commission because its object was in many ways similar to the war time efforts of the American Friends Service Committee. The activities of Henry Rowntree as related in these letters was confined mostly to the project on historic Island No. 10 in the Mississippi River opposite the Tennessee shore. The following extracts from his correspondence will give some idea of the conditions under which he was working and the events which were taking place about him.

Soon after his arrival at Island No. 10 Henry Rowntree wrote:

Each day has brought additions to our numbers . . . The other night, a refugee from Tenn. swam across the river to this Island, poor fellow, for his liberty he risked his life . . . We have a hospital tent erected and a doctor in our chaplain's staff, a kind man. I would propose the lot of nice clothing from Phil[a]. friends be sent here to me for hospital use . . .[15]

On 5th month 3rd he sent the following account of the progress of his work to Abram Taylor:

In sending my Cash account the other day, I omited [sic] telling thee that the $20 so very kindly handed me in thy dining room, I have sent to Iowa for Butter selling there at 8c lb., here 40c, and Eggs selling for 3c doz. there and here 25c . . .

The Potatoes, Onions &c sent are planted & up. The women's dresses &c sent from Phil[a] shipped on the Dunleith, and by mistake taken to Memphis which I brought back with me were most valuable and acceptable in our pressing wants; what were distributed was done by myself, after a careful inspection of the wants of each . . .

Another of Henry Rowntree's letters relates an interview which he had with a Quaker officer in the Union army. It is dated "6th mo. 11th 1863":

On the 4th inst I had a very pleasant and interesting visit from Capt. Cadwalader from Fort Pillow he is still a member of our

[15] This letter to Abram Taylor was dated, "Island No. 10 4th Mo. 10th 1863."

religious society, deeply interested in the contrabands, and completely disgusted with War, and all its attendant evils; he informed me they had an interesting school, in one of the churches, was well attended, and the students progressing.

This exploration in the Haverford Quaker collection has reached the Civil War period. Time does not permit further investigation, which would deal with the Indian work of Friends as represented in the John B. Garrett, Jonathan Richards, and other papers, and with the activities of the American Friends Service Committee. It is hoped that this paper has stimulated the curiosity and interest of Friends in Haverford Quakeriana so that they will not only feel the desire to make use of the rich deposit here themselves but will also help us to build up an even finer and more extensive collection than we have at the present.

ROBERTS VAUX, 1836-1936

By Joseph J. McCadden

"AT AN AGE when the generality of mankind are most concerned, to determine in what manner they shall apply their time and talents, for their own aggrandisement, and are seen eagerly grasping for wealth, or panting for those honours and that fame which the world can bestow, Anthony Benezet exhibits the rare example of a man, subjecting every selfish and ambitious passion, to the superior obligations of religion; offering himself a candidate for any service which might contribute to promote his Creator's honour, and advance the happiness of his fellow-beings." [1]

Thus in 1817 Roberts Vaux wrote of the eminent teacher, abolitionist, and Friend, Anthony Benezet. Today, just one hundred years after the death of the biographer, it is perhaps the same statement that might with equal justice be made of Vaux himself, and perhaps too it might be said that this philanthropic Friend, who himself sought and received no financial rewards and no glory for his services to his fellow men, was in reality as disinterested and as effective in his benevolent works as the man whose labours he memorialized.

[1] Roberts Vaux, *Memoirs of the Life of Anthony Benezet* (York 1817), p. 14.

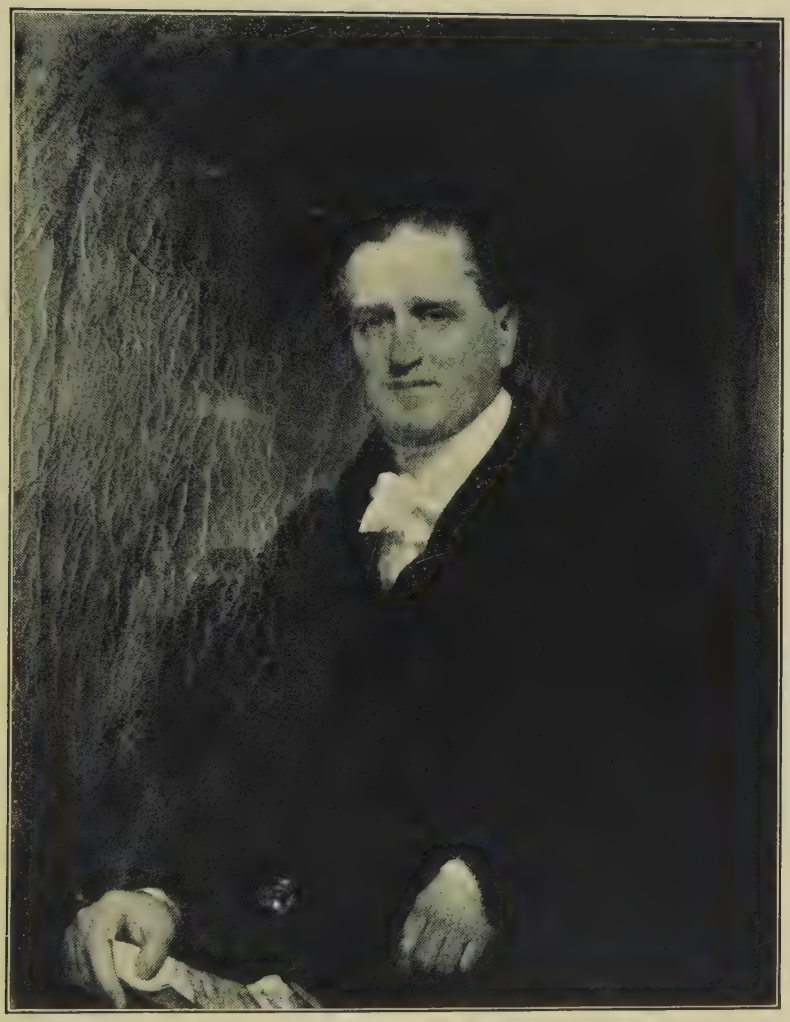
Roberts Vaux was born in Philadelphia a century and a half ago, on January 21, 1786. His father, Richard Vaux, had emigrated from England as a youth and prospered here as a merchant, and had married, before the Friends' Meeting in Philadelphia, Ann Roberts, a descendant of the Hugh Roberts who had come to Pennsylvania with William Penn the Founder, in 1682.[2] Roberts Vaux, after receiving a classical education at the Friends' Academy in Philadelphia, was apprenticed in a countinghouse, and presently went into business for himself as a merchant;[3] but he soon found the pursuit of wealth an occupation tiresome and foreign to his nature. When his only sister, Susanna, died in 1812, Vaux, who had already affiliated himself with several socially useful organizations, vowed that he would devote his life to improving the lot of others.[4] In 1814 occurred two important events in Vaux's life: the death of his mother, which left him the sole surviving member of his immediate family; and his subsequent marriage to Margaret Wistar, daughter of the merchant philanthropist, Thomas Wistar, and niece of the renowned Dr. Caspar Wistar. Free now to fulfil his vow, Roberts Vaux retired from business, although he was not yet thirty years of age, and consecrated himself whole-heartedly to the causes which had previously attracted his interest, causes in the prosecution of which he was destined to join labours with fellow Friends.

Not without significance as marking a point of expansion in the spiritual life of Roberts Vaux are the two books which he wrote about the time that he withdrew from the field of merchandising. The earlier of these volumes, published in 1815, was the *Memoirs of the Lives of Benjamin Lay and Ralph Sandiford; Two of the Earliest Public Advocates for the Emancipation of the Enslaved Africans.* Both of these men had forsaken the accumulating of material wealth, as Vaux himself

[2] The Quaker marriage certificate of Richard and Ann Vaux is preserved by their descendants.

[3] The account book of the firm of Vaux and Spangler for the years 1807-1815, inclusive, shows that after the first year Vaux ran the business without the help of his partner, Emmanuel Spangler.

[4] Thomas McKean Pettit, *Memoir of Roberts Vaux, One of the Vice Presidents of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania,* Philadelphia 1840, pp. 24-25.



ROBERTS VAUX, 1786-1836

From a painting by Inman. Taken, by kind permission, from *History of the Apprentices' Library*, by John Frederick Lewis, Philadelphia, 1924.

now proposed to do, for the sake of their principles. Both had been antislavery propagandists, as, to a milder degree, was Vaux; and Lay had also been interested, as was Vaux, in temperance, in education, and in the improvement of the penal code. Both Lay and Sandiford had been Friends and associates of Friends for some part of their lives. Both had suffered persecution and near oblivion because of their militant idealism; and, had the gift of prophecy been given to Roberts Vaux, he would have seen that for him, too, the meed of active virtue was to be much vilification and meager praise.

The contents of the second biography from the pen of Vaux, entitled *Memoirs of the Life of Anthony Benezet,* and published in 1817,[5] bear an even closer parallel to the life which the author was mapping out for himself. Herein Vaux shows that Benezet gave up business in his twenties for the sake of higher ends; that he participated actively in education, in the agitation for the abolition of slavery, for temperance in the use of spirituous liquors, for peace, and for Indian welfare; that he gave of his time and his means liberally in helping the poor and the oppressed; and that he was throughout his adult life a faithful Friend. In the Introductory remarks to this book, Vaux expressed the hope that the record of the illustrious benefactions of Benezet might "serve to awaken desires in the mind of the reader, to pursue the footsteps of this humble philanthropist." [6] No one familiar with the details of Vaux's subsequent achievements will doubt that he himself felt the inspiration, and that Benezet, the small-statured protector of the unfortunate—be they enslaved Africans, despoiled Indians, or expatriated Acadians—cast a long guiding shadow down the years of Vaux's life.

In one respect, however, Vaux differed from the three abolitionists whose works he recorded for posterity. Sandiford, Benezet, and, outstandingly, Benjamin Lay, were all individualists, taking independent action for the causes they championed. Roberts Vaux, whether from a sense of individual inadequacy or from an understanding of the efficiency of corporate effort,

[5] The author's Introductory Remarks are dated "Birwood Lodge, Eighth Month, 1816."

[6] *Op. cit.,* p. 7.

was wont to associate himself with others when he wished to further a worthy project. Two lists of his activities, apparently written by Vaux himself,[7] show no less than forty-nine cultural and charitable organizations to which he belonged; in addition, he served on governmental commissions, and exerted a vast under-cover influence for good on various state legislators and governors with whom he maintained a correspondence and other contacts. Modern colloquialism would designate him as a "joiner." Yet he was no drifting seeker after banners to which to plight his allegiance; rather, he was the organizer and the leading spirit of many of the institutions with which his name was connected; and the societies which he formed or joined were to him but a means to the accomplishing of a beneficent end.

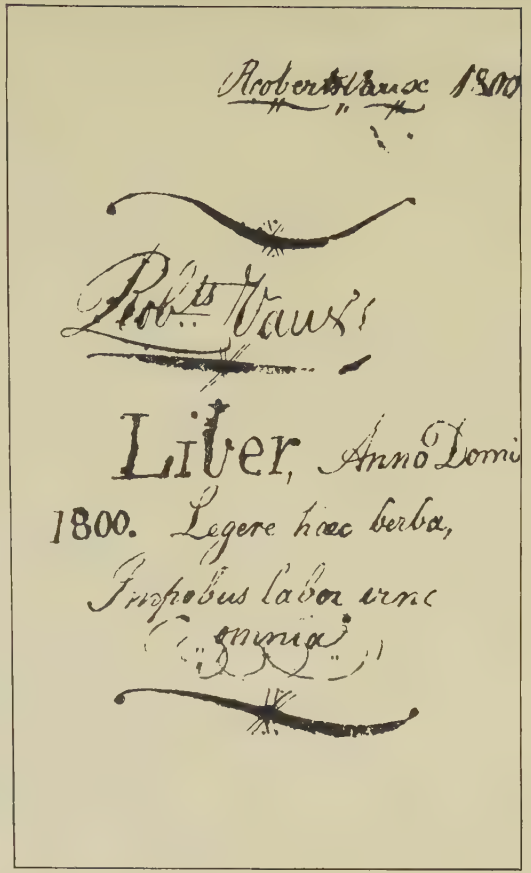
The principles of the religious Society with which Vaux was affiliated had a strong influence on his habits and his actions. His biographer, Thomas McKean Pettit, tells us that "his attendance at stated meetings for worship, was punctual and regular, admitting of no interruption which could be avoided"; and that, if his philanthropic interests prevented his attending the Twelfth Street Meeting in the middle of the week, he went to the Arch Street Meeting the following day.[8] He was chosen treasurer of the Monthly Meeting for the Western District in 1819[9]—a post which he resigned in 1834. He was noted for the quiet dignity of his speech and dress, for his avoidance of worldly amusements, and for his refusal to attend public social functions: he even declined to attend the farewell dinner to his friend, George Wolf, on the occasion of the latter's failure to be re-elected Governor of Pennsylvania in 1835, although he did begin a subscription to buy Wolf a plate service, suitably engraved, at that time.[10] It is related that he exacted of his son, Richard, a promise never to attend a theater without his permission, and that Richard consequently never, in his long life, indulged in that

[7] Preserved among the Vaux Papers, in the possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[8] T. McK. Pettit, *Memoir of Roberts Vaux*, p. 23.

[9] The formal announcement of his appointment, dated "20th of 10th mo., 1819" and signed "Benjamin Johnson, Clerk" is preserved among the Vaux Papers.

[10] Wolf Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Roberts Vaux to George Wolf, dated "Phila. 12 mo. 10. 1835."



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M,DCC,LXXXVII.

FACSIMILE OF FLYLEAF AND TITLE PAGE OF BOOK USED BY ROBERTS VAUX

form of entertainment.[11] Roberts Vaux's principles also caused him to turn a deaf ear to offers of lucrative political posts, so that James Buchanan was moved to declare: "You are fully entitled to receive every mark of approbation and confidence which this [Federal] Government can bestow and from a conversation which I had this day with the President [Andrew Jackson] I know that his feelings towards you are of the most kindly and respectful character. The only difficulty is to ascertain how there can be a public manifestation of these feelings. You will not accept office. What can be done?" [12]

It was therefore but natural that Vaux, the devout Friend, should be associated with other Friends in some of his philanthropies. He worked in co-operation with Thomas Scattergood in building up the Adelphi School, which was opened in 1808 under the auspices of the Philadelphia Association of Friends for the Instruction of Poor Children, and was the first institution in Philadelphia to employ the celebrated Lancasterian method of instruction.[13] Of this institution Vaux was a director and secretary to the board for several years, and on his withdrawal from the supervision of the school the manager, John Ely, expressed his regrets in a letter which termed Vaux "the very life and soul of the establishment." [14] Roberts Vaux also joined with other Friends in founding the Asylum for the Relief of Persons Deprived of the Use of Their Reason; besides being a contributor, he was one of committee of ten chosen in June, 1813 to draw up the constitution, and one of the building committee appointed the same year to supervise the erection of the Asylum near Frankford; he also served as a manager from 1813 to 1820.[15]

[11] *Philadelphia Inquirer,* March 23, 1895.

[12] Vaux Papers, James Buchanan to Roberts Vaux, December 19, 1834.

[13] Cf. *A Sketch of the Origin and Progress of the Adelphi School in the Northern Liberties, Established Under the Direction of the Philadelphia Association of Friends for the Instruction of Poor Children,* Philadelphia 1810.

[14] Vaux Papers, John Ely to Roberts Vaux, dated "Phila., March 29, 1815."

[15] *Friends' Asylum for the Insane, 1813-1913; a Descriptive Account from Its Foundation . . . ,* Philadelphia 1913, pp. 46, 60, 62-63.

Another venture instituted by Friends in which Roberts Vaux played a prominent part was the Apprentices' Library Company of Philadelphia. Vaux had in 1817, in the report of an education committee of which he was chairman, recommended that legislative provision be made for the founding in Philadelphia, under the auspices of the education authorities, of a number of libraries for the use of poor children and apprentices.[16] When this suggestion failed of inclusion in the School Law of 1818 for Philadelphia, Vaux apparently cast about for another means of bringing books into the hands of needy young people; for early in 1820 we find him joining with a few other youthful Friends in the formation of the Apprentices' Library, the first free circulating library in Philadelphia and now the oldest such institution in the country.[17] Vaux helped to draft the constitution of this library company; he was elected its first vice-president; for fourteen years he held this post, often giving active service in place of the absentee presidents. Finally, in 1834, his political opponents dealt him a telling blow by voting him out of office in this organization which he had helped to give birth to and to nurse through its earliest years. "So we go," wrote Vaux gloomily to his friend, Governor Wolf.[18]

In the three organizations above mentioned, Vaux co-operated, as we have noted, with fellow members of the Society of Friends. However, he was shrewd enough to realize that most of the benevolent ends which he contemplated could be best attained by joining forces with philanthropic men possessed of a wide variety of interests and affiliations. Thus we find him rubbing elbows with men of many creeds in the service of such acknowledged Quaker causes as Negro and Indian welfare, temperance, education,[19] and penal reform.

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[16] *Report of the Committee on Public Schools to the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Public Economy*, November 10, 1817, Philadelphia 1817, p. 10.

[17] Cf. John Frederick Lewis, *History of the Apprentices' Library of Philadelphia, 1820-1920*, Philadelphia 1924.

[18] Wolf Papers, Roberts Vaux to George Wolf, dated "Ph. 3 mo. 11. 1834."

[19] Details of Vaux's works for education in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania are given in Joseph J. McCadden, *Education in Pennsylvania and Its Debt to Roberts Vaux* (in press).

The interest of Roberts Vaux in the abolition of slavery was virtually lifelong. In 1807, at the age of twenty-one, he joined the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, the Relief of Free Negroes unlawfully held in Bondage, and for Improving the Conditions of the African Race.[20] This body several times chose him as its delegate to national conventions. His lives of Lay, Sandiford, and Benezet were not only biographies of ardent abolitionists; they were also tracts in which the author left no doubt that he considered slavery a barbarous and unchristian institution: and these books were widely circulated in America, and were translated and reprinted in foreign countries. After mature deliberation he decided that the American Colonization Society, of which he had at first disapproved, would help rather than hurt the American Negro,[21] and in 1830 we find him enlisted with William White, Benjamin W. Richards, and others on the Board of Managers of this Society.[22] Letters preserved among the Vaux Papers show that this friend of the oppressed Negro also importuned his acquaintances in the Pennsylvania Legislature and in Congress to foster action on this subject which was so close to his heart. Thus Vaux laboured in diverse ways to promote the welfare of the Negro.

An incident related many years after the death of Vaux by a colored citizen whom he had assisted shows that Vaux was ready to help not only the colored race but also Negroes as individuals. Robert Purvis, a South Carolina Negro, had sought from the State Department at Washington a passport for travel in Europe. The certificate which he received was far from the ordinary passport, and he showed it to Roberts Vaux, who wrote forthwith to President Jackson and secured for Purvis from the Chief Executive himself a document which gave the colored man the rights of an American citizen in foreign countries.[23]

[20] The engraved certificate of Vaux's membership in this Society, dated 10 mo. 6th. 1807 and signed by Benjamin Rush, President, is preserved among the Vaux Papers.

[21] Vaux Papers, Roberts Vaux to Charles Miner, Esq., dated "Ph. 1 mo. 26. 1830."

[22] *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania,* VI (July 10, 1830), pp. 23-24.

[23] Vaux Papers, Margaret Vaux's Scrapbook, unidentified newspaper clipping, undated but, from its context, written early in January 1874.

The interest of Roberts Vaux in the oppressed extended also to another unfortunate people—the Indians. On New Year's Day, 1827, he was called upon to deliver the annual address before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, an organization of which he was one of the seven founders in 1824. He seized this occasion to emphasize the just treatment and friendly relations with the aborigines under William Penn and his Quaker associates and successors, and to lament the avarice which marked later dealings with the Indians.[24] In 1830 he was secretary of a meeting of Philadelphia citizens to memorialize Congress that it must preserve its faith with the Cherokee and other Indians, and he served with Bishop William White, Robert Ralston, Peter S. Du Ponceau, William Rawle, and several more on the committee which drew up the memorial.[25] He urged upon Governor Wolf without success his disapproval of the Jacksonian policy of segregating the Indians from the whites.[26] Yet when he was appointed by the President as a commissioner, along with Governors Carroll of Tennessee and Stokes of North Carolina, to treat with the Indians, he firmly declined, alleging that the military escort assigned to the Commission "comprises obligations which as a member of the Religious Society of Friends, I could not consistently assume," and offering to work with the Cherokees only, in the respect that they be "elevated on the scale of moral, intellectual, and political being."[27] The post which Vaux refused was subsequently given to Henry L. Ellsworth, of Hartford.[28]

His active advocacy of Friends' principles also made it natural that Roberts Vaux should support the cause of temperance. As with other causes which enlisted his aid, he contributed in two ways: by joining with others who were of the same mind as he on the matter, and by using his personal influence with those who

[24] Roberts Vaux, *Anniversary Discourse delivered before the Historical Society of the State of Pennsylvania on January 1, 1827,* Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, Philadelphia, 1827, pp. 7-55.

[25] *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania,* V (January 23, 1830), pp. 59-61.

[26] Vaux Papers, George Wolf to Roberts Vaux, dated "Harr[isburg]. Dec. 14, 1830."

[27] Roberts Vaux to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, drafts of two letters preserved by Vaux's descendants, both dated "Phila. 7 mo. 21. 1832".

[28] *National Gazette and Literary Register*, August 4, 1832, p. 2, c. 2.

were in a position to further his ideas. Thus we find him President of the Pennsylvania State Temperance Society, President of the State Temperance Convention at Harrisburg, and Vice-President of the United States Temperance Convention held in Philadelphia.[29] Of the national convention he reported to Governor Wolf proudly: "The farmer, and mechanick, the Physician and lawyer, the Divine, and merchant, the Judge, and the untitled citizen, mingled their councils in this holy cause." [30] We find Vaux appealing to the public directly, through the press, in a letter on the good work of the Pennsylvana Society for Discouraging the Use of Ardent Spirits, and fortifying his appeals with a letter from the Philadelphia coroner on the dangers of intemperance.[31] We find him also trying to sway Governor Wolf to the cause. He sent Wolf the literature of the various temperance societies; he wrote to him personally, asking the better regulation of the consumption of ardent spirits on the public works and protesting against the licensing of oyster bars to sell liquor; he tried in vain to induce the Governor to attend the national temperance convention.[32] When he found that his political opponents were planning an effort to oust him from the Presidency of the State Temperance Society, a post to which he had been elected without any expressed candidacy on his part, he showed his devotion most strikingly by resigning before the cause should be disfigured by internal dissension.[33]

Even greater, however, than his interest in temperance, or in Indian and Negro welfare, was Roberts Vaux's dedication to the cause of education. We have seen that he was an originator of the Adelphi School and of the Apprentices' Library of Philadelphia. These are, however, but two in the long list of institutions for higher culture or for elementary schooling which he sponsored.

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[29] Vaux Papers, list in Vaux's handwriting giving his activities, p. 4.

[30] Wolf Papers, Roberts Vaux to George Wolf, dated "Ph. 6 mo. 3. 1833."

[31] *Hazard's Register,* VIII (July 16, 1831), p. 39.

[32] Vaux Papers, George Wolf to Roberts Vaux, dated "Harr. Oct. 9. 1831" and "Harr. March 28, 1832"; Wolf Papers, Vaux to Wolf, dated "Phila., 11 mo. 8. 1831," "Ph. 2 mo. 15. 1832," and "Phila., 5 mo. 10. 1833."

[33] Wolf Papers, Roberts Vaux to George Wolf, "Confidential, Ph., 2 mo. 28 1834."

The mere number and variety of the cultural institutions with which Vaux was affiliated would be astounding if we did not remember that his was a life absorbed entirely in furthering the community welfare. In Philadelphia he was connected as a founder, an active member, or an officer with agricultural, scientific, historical, and other cultural organizations, including several library companies. He was a corresponding or honorary member of numerous similar societies in other parts of the Union and in foreign countries. In addition, he exchanged opinions and information constantly with intellectuals throughout this country and Europe: with John Griscom and Thomas Eddy in New York, with N. E. Worcester and Amos Bronson Alcott in New England, with George Bancroft, Thomas Clarkson, Benjamin Shaw; with schoolmasters in Baltimore and Friends in London; with Chevalier Pedersen of Denmark and Bernhard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach, and with the famous French team of Beaumont and Tocqueville. For Vaux belonged pre-eminently in that high fraternity of culture in which men of all nations are kin.

Yet this founder and member of many learned societies did not scorn the poor and the unfortunate: rather, he laboured diligently that the rays of education might penetrate to the humblest places. From his early connections with the Adelphi School and the Philadelphia Society for the Establishment and Support of Charity Schools he advanced to more ambitious projects. In 1817 the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Public Economy made him chairman of its Committee on Public Schools. He and his committee prepared a report in which they pointed out the wastefulness and inefficiency of the existing laws for the education of Philadelphia's poor children, and a bill in which they showed their ideal of a school law for Philadelphia. This bill, with a few limitations that originated in the Legislature, was destined to form the basis of the School Law of 1818, which created Philadelphia the First School District of the State of Pennsylvania, and which called for the creation of school boards there and the erection of sectional schools and a Model School. Of the Board of Controllers selected under this law in 1818, Roberts Vaux became the first President, and during

the formative first fourteen years of the Philadelphia public school system, he remained its presiding officer and kept his finger on every matter that pertained to its welfare. From 1818 to his retirement at the close of 1831, he gave to these schools for the poor a more intensive devotion than to any other project. Moreover, far from receiving any pecuniary emolument for his services in this respect, he often felt himself called upon to spend of his own means for the benefit of the school system.

When once the Philadelphia public schools were an established institution, Roberts Vaux turned his attention to bringing similar blessings to the entire State. He was a founder in 1827 of the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Public Schools, and presided for the four active years of its existence over this organization, which has been generally credited with awakening in the State at large the desire for a state-supervised and state-financed system of common schools.[34] In this organization members of the Society of Friends, such as Vaux and Edward Bettle, had their shoulders to the same wheel as the Catholic, Mathew Carey, and the future Presbyterian missionary, James R. Eckard. Roberts Vaux's share in the achievements of this Public School Society was large. He not only acted as chairman of its meetings and those of its Council; he also wrote reports and memorials for it, brought its aims personally to the attention of legislators and of Governor Wolf, and served as an avenue of co-operation between the Society and the Philadelphia public schools; he also continued its work after the demise of the Society, by plaguing Governor Wolf with suggestions as to how he could bring about a state-wide school system with universal education, until, under the lash of that Executive's Vaux-stimulated demands for educational reform in his messages to the Legislature, the School Law of 1834 was passed.

So unbounded was Vaux's faith in the value of education that he sought to make it available not only to all normal children in Pennsylvania, but also to the handicapped. Hence his name appears among the founders and officers of the Pennsylvania

[34] Cf. Joseph J. McCadden, "Roberts Vaux and His Associates in the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Public Schools," *Pennsylvania History,* III (January, 1936), pp. 1-17.

Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind. The long usefulness of these two establishments gives testimony of the rightness of Vaux's judgment in aiding in their origination.

Here, then, are four fields of reform in which Roberts Vaux exerted himself, to be favored with but scant recognition as his meed. In a fifth field, that of penal reform, his fame has fared better. For the story has been told more than once of his two decades and more of service with the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons, of his activities as a Commissioner, for seven years, in the erection and organization of the Eastern Penitentiary and as a founder of the House of Refuge in Philadelphia; furthermore, his advocacy of the confinement of prisoners in separate cells and of reform rather than punishment as the ideal of penal systems brought him an enduring reputation both in America and in Europe.[35] Hence it is not necessary to go into detail here regarding his contributions in this field.

There were many other benevolent works with which Roberts Vaux, Philadelphia Orthodox Friend, was connected during his less than fifty years of life, but it would serve no purpose to name them all. We have seen enough to make us wonder how one individual could have gauged so unerringly the needs of his community and accomplished so much toward the fulfilment of them. Perhaps the key to the riddle lies in a statement which he made about his early hero, Anthony Benezet, but which might apply equally well to Roberts Vaux himself:

"Private character, he does not appear to have had; it is almost impossible to discover a line, which separated his pursuits, or abstracted his mind, from the great purpose for which he seems to have lived, *the good of his species.*".[36]

[35] A biography of Vaux, stressing his work as a penologist, is found in an article entitled "Roberts Vaux," in *The Pennsylvania Journal of Prison Discipline and Philanthropy,* II (April, 1846), pp. 109-122. In recent times, Vaux has received credit for his penal leadership in Harry Elmer Barnes, *The Evolution of Penology in Pennsylvania: A Study in American Social History,* Indianapolis 1927, *passim.*

[36] Roberts Vaux, *Memoirs of the Life of Anthony Benezet,* p. 105.

DOCUMENTS

LETTERS OF JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER

In the Roberts Collection at Haverford College

Transcribed and edited by Edward D. Snyder, Professor of English at Haverford College, and Anna B. Hewitt, Assistant Curator of the Roberts Collection.

Letter No. 1

This letter takes us further into the tense details of the abolition movement than does any of the other Whittier letters in the Roberts Collection. It deals with an important abolition meeting which has not been stressed by Whittier's biographers, and its casual references re-create for us the days of bitterness and actual martyrdom for the cause of abolition.

The Honorable James Gordon Carter (1795-1849) served in both houses of the Massachusetts state legislature, and was distinguished as a reformer in the field of public education.

Charles Turner Torrey (1813-1846), a Congregational minister and intense abolitionist, eventually died in the Maryland penitentiary as a direct result of his antislavery work. The arrest to which Whittier refers was in January, 1842, in connection with Torrey's efforts to attend and report the proceedings of a slaveholders' convention held at Annapolis. See *Slavery and Antislavery* by William Goodell (New York, 1852), pp. 441-445.

The "*Creole* case" refers to a slave ship, and the incident is thus described by McMaster: "Late in October, 1841, the brig *Creole*, laden with tobacco and conveying five passengers and one hundred and thirty-eight slaves, had sailed from Hampton Roads for New Orleans. When ten days out the negroes rose, killed the owner of many of them, wounded the captain and first mate, and forced the second mate and the crew to take the brig to Nassau. There nineteen of the negroes were held for murder and the rest set free." J. B. MacMaster, *A History of the People of the United States* (New York, 1910), vol. 7, p. 54.

The "trial of J. Q. Adams" refers to an almost forgotten tempest in a teapot which boiled over in January, 1842. For some time the venerable John Quincy Adams had insisted on presenting to the House of Representatives scores of unimportant petitions, dealing largely with the abolition of slavery. On January 21, 1842, he baffled his opponents by presenting from certain citizens of Georgia a petition for his own removal from the chairmanship of an important committee, then by speaking in his own behalf (against the petition which he had just presented), and finally by presenting another petition signed by forty-five citizens of Haverhill, Massachusetts, which called for the peaceable dissolution of these United States! It is significant that Haverhill was Whittier's birthplace.

"Burritt, the Learned Blacksmith," is Elihu Burritt (1810-1879), blacksmith, eccentric scholar, and founder of the pacifist weekly, the *Christian Citizen.*

Amesbury 3rd 2nd Mo. 1842

[Addressed to Hon. James G. Carter, Lancaster, Mass.]

Dear Friend

I suppose thou hast seen by the Emancipator and Free American that we are to have a grand Liberty Meeting in Boston on the 16th inst. Permit me as one of the State Central Committee, to express the hope that thou wilt be with us on that occasion, with as many more from Lancaster as can possibly come. The Ladies too are especially invited—not to make speeches, I suppose,—but to meet with us as they used to before the vexed question of Womens Rights disturbed us.

It will be a great meeting. Old Essex will turn out strong. Let Worcester not be behind. Every thing favors us. Torry's arrest—the Creole case—the trial of J. Q. Adams—all are our auxilliaries.

Very truly thy friend

JOHN G. WHITTIER

P. S. I have in my care a Book which my friend Joseph Sturge wished me to give thee, but have had no convenient opportunity of doing so.

Dost thou know Burritt the "Learned Blacksmith"? I am told that he is favorable to our cause. If thou art acquainted with him give him an invitation to attend our meeting.

Letter No. 2

The Honorable Henry Stephens Randall (1811-1876), agriculturist, author and leader in the field of public education, was elected in 1851 Secretary of State of New York, and by accepting the office became *ex officio* the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Amesbury 30th 11th mo. 1853.

Hon. H. S. Randall

It wd. give me great pleasure to receive the Book, referred to in thy note. The vols. may be sent by the Express to Boston care of *David Batchelder Amesbury Express.*

I have rec[d.] & read with satisfaction thy decision in the case of Catholic scholars & the Bible. We have a similar question here, & as one of the Committee I am glad to have thy views on it.

With great respect
& esteem thy friend

JOHN G. WHITTIER

LETTER No. 3

The third letter is of special interest as illustrating Whittier's peculiar interest in his own pictures and his determination always if possible to be favorably represented. The material which follows should be read in connection with Letter No. 12 in this collection, relative to the Bass Otis portrait, with which Whittier seemed better satisfied than with any of the daguerreotypes.

Amesbury 12th mo. 6th, 1855.

L. Grozelein[?]Esq.

My friend Mr. Brainard of Washington requests me to forward to thee a daguerreotype of myself. I send the only one accessible. It was taken five or six years ago—the likeness & expression are said to be correct—time & illness have since deepened the lines of the face somewhat, & sprinkled the black locks with grey. There is no daguerreotypist here, & I hope this will serve thy purpose.

The attitude of the picture is not good nor natural—too stiff—& this effect is increased by a broad neck stock. The portrait in Mussey's edition of my Poems is nearer the truth in this respect, although, in the main, a poor picture.

I think the daguerreotype with the exception of being five or six years too young—is nearly right, so far as the *face* is concerned. The stiff, unnatural position could be perhaps remedied in the Engraving,—& the hair slightly changed.

Hoyt's picture is in my possession from which the book portrait was Engraved. The Daguerreotype is more animated & life-like than the painting, however.

Please to let me know whether this will answer for an Engraving, & believe me,

Very truly thy friend

JOHN G. WHITTIER

P. S. Since writing the above I have found a daguerreotype taken at about the same time the other was—it was badly man-

aged as to the light, & the face is almost lost in the deep shadow. It has the advantage of a better & easier attitude than the smaller picture. I send it as it may be of service.

J. G. W.

Letter No. 4

This fourth letter, like the first, takes us dramatically back into the struggle for abolition, especially in the national issue of "bleeding Kansas." Whittier's verse was used so much as propaganda by the Abolitionists, that he has often been spoken of as the "Laureate of bleeding Kansas." See Pickard's *Life*, vol. I, pp. 370 ff. and the references there given.

Both Whittier's song and his sister's, which form the principal topics of this letter, may be found in Pickard's *Whittier-Land*, pp. 150-151.

For Whittier's connection with the *National Era*, of which he was long a corresponding editor, see Pickard's *Life*, vol. I, p. 324 *et passim.*

Amesbury, 8th Mo. 5th, 1856.

[Addressed to Mr. Webb]

My dear Webb,

I am sorry to have thee obliged to write letters & hunt up music-makers, for my poor song, when there is so much more important to occupy thy time.

I wish to add a verse, if not too late to my song—to precede the last verse:—

The snake about her cradle twined
  Shall infant Kansas tear:
And freely on the western wind
  Shall float her golden hair.
Then tell &c &c

My sister—the author of the other song—is not willing to have her name used—if thee can help it. I do not see any use in mentioning mine: should be glad to have it ommitted.

Thine ever & truly

JOHN G. WHITTIER

I shall send the text of the Songs to the Era today or tomorrow.

Letter No. 5

Lucy Hooper, referred to in this letter, was a charming woman and talented poetess, whose close friendship with Whittier was cut short in 1841 by her death from tuberculosis. Whittier's poem to her memory appears in the Cambridge edition of his poems, pp. 174-75.

Amesbury 8th Mo. 5th 1871

My dear Webb,

I am sorry to have thee obliged to write letters & hunt up music-makers, for my poor song. When there is so much nine important to occupy thy time.

I wish to add a verse, if not too late to my song — to precede the last verse: —

The snake about her cradle twines
Shall infant Kansas tear;
And freely in the western wind
Shall float her golden hair.

Then tell &c &c

My sister — the author of the Mercy — is not willing to have her name used — if she can help it. I do not see any use in mentioning mine;

should be glad to have it omitted.

Thine Ever truly

John G. Whittier

I should send the text by Thursday to Webb to day or tomorrow.

Amesbury 26th 12th Mo. 1859[?].

Dr. fd.

Joseph Hooper the father of my friend Lucy Hooper died many years ago. Her mother & sister were living in Brooklyn N. Y. the last I heard from the family. I regret that I am not able to give their address.

Very truly thy fd.
JOHN G. WHITTIER.

LETTER No. 6

The sixth letter suggests all too briefly Whittier's literary friendship with Bayard Taylor, who wrote the Ode for the Centennial Celebration, and who put at Whittier's disposal another poem which was prematurely designated as the "Hymn" for the same celebration. Taylor's Ode may now be found on pp. 230-235 of the Household edition of his poems. Whittier's Hymn (Cambridge edition, p. 234) does include (stanza three) the two lines begged from Taylor.

This entire letter, with additional information, has been printed in Pickard's *Life*, vol. 2, pp. 618-620.

Amesbury
3 mo. 25, 1876.

[Addressed to Bayard Taylor]

My Dear Friend

Take my thanks for thy prompt sending of thy hymn. It is too good & almost discourages me. I want to beg, borrow or steal from thee two lines slightly changed:

"And unto common good ordain
The rivalries of hand & brain."

I covet more, but my conscience won't let me shoot any more in thy preserves. I am delighted with the idea of thy writing the Ode. It needs thy combination of patriot & cosmopolitan to do it aright. I will endorse thee in advance & so will Holmes & Longfellow & Fields.

Thine always,
JOHN G. WHITTIER

LETTER No. 7

The seventh letter bears out what we all know from other sources of Whittier's religious views, suggests that perhaps he was not a regular subscriber of the Philadelphia *Friend*, and fixes our attention on the

spirituality of a now little rememberd Pennsylvania farmer. The *Extracts from the Diary of Ebenezer Worth* were printed serially in *The Friend* (Philadelphia) for almost a year, specifically from 4 mo. 7, 1879, to 3 mo. 7, 1880, and may be found conveniently by reference to the indexes of Volumes 52 and 53.

Oak Knoll, Danvers
1st 7 Mo 1879.

My dear frd.

I thank thee for thy note & the copies of the "Friend." I quite agree with thee in thinking the extracts from the journal of Ebenezer Worth indicate a character of rare unselfishness, practical piety, & faithfulness to the Divine Monitor & Guide. One is glad to get away from the empty noises of self-righteous presumption & contemplate such a beautiful unworldliness, such a close walk with the Master. I think the papers very valuable, as they furnish a lesson greatly needed at this time of loud profession and irreverent familiarity with divine things, and offensive self-glorfication.

Thy friend
JOHN G. WHITTIER

Letter No. 8

The eighth letter is again of some religious significance in suggesting Whittier's broad tolerance of liberal theology, which contrasts interestingly with his well-known intolerance of narrow Calvinistic theology.

Protap Chunder Mozoomdar (1840-1905) was much in the public eye as delegate from the oriental society of Brahmo-Somaj, of which he was probably the most influential member, as preacher (in various Boston churches and Appleton Chapel), and as author. In addition to editing the *Indian Mirror*, he wrote the following books: *The Oriental Christ, The Faith and Progress of the Brahmo-Somaj, Sketches of a Tour around the World, The Life and Teachings of Keshub Chunder Sen, Aids to Moral Character, Heart-Beats*, and *The Spirit of God.*

Amesbury, Mass.
19th 10 Mo. 1881

Dear Friend,

The learned and eloquent Hindu Mozoomdar the delegate from the Brahmo-Somaj to the Christians of Europe is now I suppose in N. Y. having left Boston where he was most cordially welcomed by the ministers of all sects, and greatly admired. He regards Christ as his divine Master. Though perhaps not a Trinitarian, he is nearer a *Friend* than anything else. It strikes

me that if you could get him to come to the Haverford anniversary [?] it would add much interest to the occasion. I presume Dr Abbott of the Christian Union in New York would be able to see him and present an invitation from the Com.

Thine very truly

JOHN G. WHITTIER

Letter No. 9

Letter No. 9 forms an important link in the chain of Whittier contacts with Haverford College, which are reviewed elsewhere in this issue of the Bulletin. It also shows the trend of Whittier's religious thinking in the year 1883. Rachel S. Howland has been identified by Mrs. Francis B. Gummere as the wife of Matthew Howland, of New Bedford, Massachusetts.

Amesbury

8th Mo. 9 1883

[Addressed to Francis B. Gummere]

Dear Friend

A letter from our dear friend Rachel S. Howland apprises me that thee wish me to write a poem for the Semi Centennial of Haverford College. I had previously recd. an intimation of the kind and would gladly comply with the request, if I felt able. I cannot write without suffering, and I dread to take up a pen even if only to answer a letter.

I am glad to know of thy appointment as the Poet of the occasion, and have no doubt that the fine opportunity which the event furnishes will be well improved on thy part. I hope thee will say a good, clear, strong word for the *Old* Quakerism. That central doctrine of ours,—the Divine Immanence and Universal Light,—will yet be found the stronghold of Christendom,—the sure safe place from superstition on one hand, and scientific doubt on the other.

I think Haverford has, in a great measure, kept the good old way. Long may it live and prosper.

Truly thy friend,

JOHN G. WHITTIER

Letter No. 10

Isaac Penington (1616-1679), son of Isaac Penington (Alderman and Lord Mayor of London), was a Quaker minister and well-known author

of numerous Quaker books. In 1654 he married Mary Springett, widow of Sir William Springett, whose only child, Gulielma Maria Springett, was the first wife of William Penn.

Alexander V. G. Allen (1841-1908) was an Episcopal clergyman, educator, and author of the following books: *The Continuity of Christian Thought, Jonathan Edwards, Religious Progress, Christian Institutions, Life and Letters of Phillips Brooks, Freedom in the Church.* In Volume 1 of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, the article on Alexander V. G. Allen says, "His first real appeal to the thinking world was his *Continuity of Christian Thought* (1884)."

The last figure in the date of this letter is illegible, and might conceivably be read as "1," "2," "4" or "6." The correct reading is probably 1884, because Dr. Allen's *Continuity* appeared in that year.

Danvers, Mass.
10 Mo. 26 1884.

Dear Friend

I have not been in Amesbury for some weeks, but have rec$^{d.}$ thy late letter & pamphlet. The latter touches upon a subject which I do not feel competent to grasp in its entirety. I like much the "Reserved[?]Revelation." The passage quoted from Penington is especially note worthy and is the vital truth of Quakerism, which seems of late lost sight of or denied by so many who profess to be Friends. Has thee seen Dr Allen's "Continuity of Religious Thought"? It seem to me valuable in its resusitation of the doctrine of the Divine Immanence as taught by the Greek Church in the early Christian centuries.

I am very truly
thy friend
JOHN G. WHITTIER

Letter No. 11

The letter which follows reflects the vigor of Whittier's antislavery feelings a score of years after the Civil War, and his continued interest in the freedom of the press. The last part of the letter is quoted in Mordell's *Quaker Militant*, p. 285.

At the time when Charles Roberts sent to Whittier the invitation referred to in this letter, Mr. Roberts was on the Council of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and was presumably writing on behalf of the organization itself. He was also at this time a Manager of Haverford College and Secretary of the Corporation. For a list of his other philanthropic and scholarly activities, see the *Matriculate Catalogue of Haverford College* (Philadelphia, 1922), p. 117. This is, of course, the

Charles Roberts who built up the Roberts Autograph Collection given by his widow, Lucy Branson Roberts, to Haverford College and now housed in the fireproof section of Roberts Hall, a gift of the same donor.

Oak Knoll
Danvers, Mass.
12 mo 4 1885

Chas. Roberts Esq
Dear Friend

I have rec$^{d.}$, through thee, an invitation to the dinner of the Historical Society of Pa. on the anniversary of the introduction of Printing into the Middle Colonies, on the 12th inst. I regret that I am not able to be with you on that interesting occasion. So much of our pleasure, business, knowledge and progress now depends upon upon the Great Art that we can scarcely conceive of the possibility of living without it. To me the occasion is of special interest, as one of the very first uses of the Press in Philadelphia, two centuries ago, was the printing of a pamphlet against Negro Slavery, which then existed in all the Colonies. I never heard that Printer Bradford or his press were molested on account of so doing; but it seems now, more than it did then, a strange circumstance that a century and a half later, when I was editing the Penn$^{a.}$ Freeman in your city, my office was broken open, sacked & burned for doing the same thing. It surely becomes us all to thank God & rejoice that a system which denied not only personal liberty but the liberty of the Press is no longer in existence, and that an unshackled press, South as well as North, rejoices over its downfall.

I am truly thy friend,

JOHN G WHITTIER

Letter No. 12

Reference has already been made in the note on Letter 3 to Whittier's peculiar interest in the appearance of all pictures of himself. The Bass Otis portrait, which he borrows in this letter, paying $5. transportation charges for its use by his publishers, is now the property of Haverford College, and hangs in the outer room of the Roberts Collection.

Bass Otis (1784-1861) was born in Bridgewater, Massachusetts, and early established his reputation as a painter of portraits. He opened his Philadelphia studio in 1812, and there did most of his artistic work, except for the years from 1845 to 1859, when he was principally in New York

and Boston. In addition to the Whittier portrait under discussion, Otis painted Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Joseph Hopkinson, Stephen Girard, and many other men of national prominence. Otis is believed to have made the first lithograph in America, and for this reason, quite as much as for his ability at portrait painting, he is assured an important position in the history of art.

Danvers, Mass.
Apl. 21 1887

[Addressed to Mr. Isaac Wendell]

My dear Cousin:

I was glad to have a line from thee some months ago, and I rejoice that thee and I have been spared to this time. I recall the pleasant days with thee in Philada. and at Bustleton. How far back it all seems! I have been confined most of the long and bitter winter and spring, and it has gone hard with me. I think thee & I must be nearly of an age. I am in my 80th year.

My publishers want to get a picture of myself of an early date and if thee have that painted by Bass Otis still in thy possession, I would like to have a daguerreotype of it, or, better still, the portrait itself. I would be very careful of it, and return it. Thy sister writes me that she thinks it possible that it is now with thy daughter in New Jersey. If so it might be sent by express to me from there. I enclose $5. to pay expenses.

With love and all kind wishes I am thy cousin

JOHN G. WHITTIER

Letter No. 13

For a full account of the honor paid Whittier on his last birthday, see Pickard's *Life*, vol. 2, pp. 753 ff. The "Mrs. Ordway" mentioned in the second paragraph of the letter was Mrs. Warren Ordway, formerly one of Whittier's schoolmates.

Newburyport
March 13 1892

My dear Friend

Thy kind and interesting letter reached me only a day or two before I was attacked by La Grippe and was unable to read it until within a few days. I barely escaped with my life and am still very weak, and my sight is so impaired that I cannot write or read much.

Dear Mrs Ordway was at my Birth-day with the Haverhill friends and I was very glad to meet her. How few are now left whom I knew sixty years ago!

I thank thee for thy letter which has called up memories of East Haverhill very vividly.

I am very truly thy aged friend,

JOHN G. WHITTIER

BOOK REVIEWS

William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania, by William I. Hull. Swarthmore College, 1935. xiii+445 pp.; illustrated. $4.00.

THE LATE Philadelphia national historian, McMaster, once said it was not time to write a history of Pennsylvania; "a lot of monographic work must be done first," he added. He might have added that in no national history, including his own, is the state properly represented. "A lot of monographs" have been and are now being done; and Dr. Hull, "Howard M. Jenkins Research Professor of Quaker History" in Swarthmore College, is doing a number of them, of which this excellent volume is the second. In these, he takes the scientific viewpoint of seeking causes in the European background, avoiding the provincial view. A first-hand sight of contemporary material as well as knowledge of all Quaker historians from Sewel to Braithwaite and Jones shows his vital grasp of his great field.

In his five chapters and six appendices he traces Quaker movements arising in Holland, the Orange dependencies of Netherlands and Rhineland, and Germany, from about 1652 to Penn's first visit in 1671, a mission to others in spiritual revolt like the Labadists, Pietists, and Quietists. He then traces the great mission of Penn, Fox, Barclay, and others in 1677, when Penn had been made umpire of West Jersey, and became aflame with asylum possibilities on the American shore. On this trip he and his companions visited over a hundred places in the above regions, and chiefly to Dutch Quaker settlements, scattered by persecution to kindly principalities, and by the wars of Louis XIV. The hideous Thirty Years' War and its religious persecutions tend to make one endure 1914 and after more calmly. It is no wonder that Penn prompted 800 of them to flee to West Jersey, and in 1680 took measures to get control of the Delaware Valley on both sides for a "Promised Land"!

Then in 1683 about 300 Dutch Quakers from Krefeld and elsewhere settled north of Philadelphia in what should then have been called "Dutchtown" and so remained for about a quarter of a century, or until,

in 1709, the German influx caused it to be named "Germantown." Dr. Hull makes us fully acquainted with these Holland settlers in a vivid first-hand way. Then in 1686 Penn made another visit to the above lands—his last—and when he had acquired control of the Delaware Valley on both sides, he started a great migration or "trek" thither as a land of freedom. It is not surprising that, as Dr. Myers states, Penn should marry a "Dutch woman."

Dr. Hull makes us realize these powerful features: suffering in religious persecution, hard to realize in these days; powerful preaching over a large territory; powerful pamphleteering and correspondence, in spiritual revolt; and a wonderful migration of the spiritually minded to a land of freedom. He is doing a great work for history, Quaker history, Pennsylvania and national history in his ten monographs—"a lot"—of which two have now been issued. The rest, listed in this volume, are most promising.

BURTON ALVA KONKLE.

Quakerism and a Creed. By Arthur T. Mekeel. Friends Book Store, Philadelphia, 1936. 171 pp.

IT HAS always been a little difficult to explain why the Society of Friends has had no creed. A historical monograph on the subject such as we now have in Mekeel's book is the best way of answering the question. The objections to a creed are its inadequacy and its danger of misuse as a test of membership. On the other hand Friends have legitimately desired a statement that would silence false charges of unorthodoxy or that would enable inquirers to know what they were joining if they wished to become Friends. All these and other interests are related in due historical sequence in the 150 pages of this book.

The earliest doctrinal summaries of Quakerism were invariably drawn up to correct mistaken notions about Quaker belief. In England the earliest is traced back to Edward Burrough, in New England to Christopher Holder and his fellow missionaries. These date from 1657. Others soon followed. Towards the end of the century controversy with Keith and others led Friends on both sides of the Atlantic to draw up statements of faith. I think Mekeel has overlooked the earliest of this American series, a rare tract "printed and sold by William Bradford at Philadelphia in Pennsylvania in the Year 1692." It emanates mainly from Rhode Island Quakers, but Keith also, who signs it, is still in good standing, and so is William Bradford, who is himself the collector of the doctrinal summary consisting of quotations from Friends' writings arranged under eight doctrinal heads. *The Christian Faith of the People of God Called in Scorn Quakers* is the title of the whole.

The main body of the new book deals with the controversies and separations in American Quakerism. This is based on printed materials

including minutes and periodicals and gives an insight into the part played by the tendency of evangelical groups to demand credal statements in their official documents and credal tests for members or ministers. The story of conflict is told with a detail that cannot be found in other works. It is a clarifying if not edifying review of our history. The final chapter explains how London Yearly Meeting has been moving since 1860. Their adoption in 1922 of a collection of statements of Friends representative of different periods and different temperaments seems to the author as to many others an admirable solution of the problem.

The actual tenets of Quakerism are not discussed in this volume. The only exception is in the appendix, where the terms "Trinity" and "light within" are dealt with. No summary of Quaker belief is more than partly quoted. The several printed catechisms of early Quakerism, which are a type of credal affirmation, are not dealt with. The name of Barclay is not even mentioned in the volume. So strictly has the author held himself to the limited task he set. Old manuscript materials have not been utilized, nor has the author regaled the reader with such stories as Bishop tells of the New Hampshire preacher, who, when arguing about the "persons" of the Trinity, withdrew worsted by the Quakers with the petulant remark—said to be still a local byword—"At any rate there are three somethings."

This well-expressed and well documented narrative cannot be read without helping modern Friends, who represent nearly all the views expressed in the past for or against a creed, to think the matter through. The absence of a creed has too often been used as an excuse for vagueness or intellectual sloth, the demand for a creed has been too often motivated as a device to confine Quakerism to a limited way of belief instead of a way of life. More thinking on the subject is needed and may be expected from reading this book.

HENRY J. CADBURY.

Friends of God: Practical Mystics of the Fourteenth Century. By Anna Groh Seesholtz. New York, Columbia University Press, 1934. x+247 pp. Two illustrations. $2.50.

BY QUAKER readers, this book will be looked upon as a fuller treatment of a chapter in Rufus M. Jones's *Studies in Mystical Religion* (pp. 242-297) treating the same subject—an interesting and remarkable expression of mysticism in Germany associated with the names of John Tauler, Henry Seuse (or Suso), Henry of Nördlingen, Margaret and Christian Ebner, Rulman Merswin, and the unknown "Friend of God from the Oberland," a mysterious personage who may have been Merswin himself. The subject is of interest to Friends because the name of the group suggests the name which the Quakers adopted; and because their religious experience was part of the great movement which later gave rise to Quakerism.

The Friends of God were a number of persons—they were hardly organized into a "group"—who believed they could achieve a very close contact with God through contemplation and prayer, often by vigorous self-castigation, sometimes in active life in the world of affairs. Some were of the clergy, some were laymen. A number were gifted preachers and writers. There is still much mystery about their lives and methods, for there was much mystery even in their own time—they had mystical, occult experiences, they wrote in figurative and apocalyptic language, many of them withdrew from the world. Their lives were saintly, and they placed great reliance on immediate Divine guidance. The Church came to look askance at them, and some of their writings were placed on the *Index*.

The author of this new study of the movement has examined the sources with thoroughness, and has added an independent evaluation of the movement to those already contributed in Preger's *Geschichte der deutschen Mystik im Mittelalter* (1874-93), and in Denifle's monographs on the mystics and Pfeiffer's editions of mystical writings. The movement is worth repeated evaluations; for it was one of extraordinary interest and significance. In those days, when life became too hard or too complex to bear, men turned within; in these days men tend to turn outward, and have recourse to violence.

The characters and writings of the leaders are portrayed with fulness. The identity of the "great Friend of God from the Oberland" is discussed dispassionately, and on the basis of writings attributed to him and writings known to be by Rulman Merswin the conclusion is reached and confidently stated that the two are the same person. An interesting chapter on the anonymous literature produced by the movement brings out the tendency which later often moved Friends to write anonymously—the tendency to sink oneself in one's message and let the message triumph if sustained by its own truth.

The final chapter, on the lasting influence of the Friends of God, does not appear, superficially, to be very definite. The movement, however, kept alive the great mystical tradition handed down by Eckhart; it emphasized the notion of holiness in lay lives, and the function of religion as a guiding force in efforts for social reconstruction; and it preached the notion of the worth of the individual, and thus perhaps prepared the ground for the seeds of the German Reformation (Luther is known to have studied Tauler's sermons), though the Friends themselves had no idea of working in any other way than inside the Church. Moreover, it contributed some precious fragments of mystical writing and recorded some interesting mystical experiences; and the present study is a welcome aid to Friends who wish to comprehend more fully the religious background out of which the Quaker movement sprang.

T. K. B.

John Bellers, ein Vertreter des frühen Quäkertums (John Bellers, a Representative of Early Quakerism). By Karl Seipp. Nürnberg, Quäker-Verlag, 1933. 83 pp. 4 illustrations.

John Bellers: Quaker, Economist, and Social Reformer. By A. Ruth Fry. London, Cassell and Co., 1935. xi+174 pp. 3 illustrations.

JOHN BELLERS was one of the really great men of the first century of Quakerism; and it is striking that his significance has been so largely overlooked, or at least that his life and work have not been more fully treated by later writers. The British *Dictionary of National Biography* devotes an article of three columns to him (Fox gets nine columns, and Penn, the aristocrat and statesman, eighteen); the *Encyclopedia Britannica* does not mention him even in the index. W. C. Braithwaite, in *The Second Period of Quakerism*, devotes some twenty pages in his chapter on "The Church and Social Questions" to Bellers, saying of him (p. 594): "John Bellers was by far the greatest of the early Quaker social reformers, and it has been right to give prominence to his work, so that he may become known in his own land." His significance as a social reformer was dwelt upon at length by Jorns in *Studien über die Sozialpolitik der Quäker* (translated by the present reviewer under the title *The Quakers as Pioneers in Social Work*, New York, Macmillan, 1931). But his originality and energy and sound social thinking have deserved more attention than they have received. Karl Marx, in *Das Kapital*, attributed to Bellers priority in the formulation of many of the basic ideas of socialism, and calls him "a very phenomenon in the history of political economy"; and Eduard Bernstein, in his brilliant study entitled *Cromwell and Communism*, outlines Bellers's plans for social betterment in detail, assigning to him an important place in the history of European economic and sociological thought.

There are three tasks that need to be done to introduce the present generation to Bellers. First, a more or less popular work, with something of the life of Bellers and a discussion of his plans, to bring out the interest of his life and the significance of his ideas for his time as well as for ours. Second, his writings, which are varied but not very voluminous, should be reprinted in a critical edition, with notes to show the changes in the text as Bellers's ideas changed from edition to edition, to explain allusions, and in general to supply a biographer with reliable data. Third, an interpretative biography, showing fully the entire social and religious background against which Bellers's ideas developed—in itself a fascinating study,—and tracing Bellers's life and the fortunes of his several proposals. This last task will not be easy, for the dependable records of Bellers's life are very scanty; but the background could receive correspondingly fuller treatment.

The two books under review meet partly the first and partly the second need suggested above. Karl Seipp's German monograph contains a few biographical details, but is mostly devoted to a portrayal of the back-

ground and to a discussion of Bellers's concrete proposals for social reform. Seipp discerns the causes of the terrible poverty of Bellers's time—poverty which Bellers understood as the result of a maladjusted social order, and which is duplicated in our day from very similar causes. A particularly interesting chapter traces the connection between the social thinking of the time and the broader religious movements. England was predominantly Protestant—not with the Protestantism of Luther, who preached salvation through faith, but of Calvin, who preached the necessity of works. The Puritans, who were mainly of the well-to-do classes, found it comfortable to believe that poverty was a punishment for sin, especially the sin of indolence, and that their prosperity was their just reward for their works. "Works" to them meant working, meant having a job, meant the successful administration of affairs. This kind of works could never be achieved by the great underprivileged and unemployed classes, from which most of the minor religious bodies were drawn; and hence in this latter group, to which the Quakers belonged, works came to mean works of humanity, working for one's fellows. Against this general background Bellers's humanitarian activities must be delineated.

Other chapters deal suggestively with Bellers as a social thinker and with the later development of his seed ideas; several chapters are devoted to his specific proposals, as for the founding of a community managed by a sort of benevolent despotism, called a "Colledge of Industry," where the idle poor could be profitably employed; for the abolition of capital punishment; and for the improvement of "Physick"; and the book closes with a brief outline of Bellers's life (in five pages) and a valuable bibliography.

Ruth Fry's book contains some thirty pages of comments on Bellers's life, ideas, personality, and family history, and devotes the rest to reprinting his principal writings. These essays show a considerable range of interest. The "Colledge of Industry," already referred to, occupies sixteen pages; the "Essay towards the Improvement of Physick," thirty-four pages; a collection of "Essays about the Poor, Manufacturers, Trade, Plantations, and Immorality, And of the Excellency and Divinity of Inward Light," twenty-seven pages. In another vein, he writes "A Caution against all Perturbations of Mind, But more particularly against the Passion of Anger as an Enemy to the Soul"; and in still another field of interest he writes "Some Reasons for an European State," foreshadowing the League of Nations. His "Epistle to Friends . . . concerning the Prisoners, and Sick, in the Prisons and Hospitals of Great Britain" raises a concern that was to be more fully carried out nearly a hundred years later by Elizabeth Fry. Other works show John Bellers's freshness and quaint vitality of style, the breadth of his interests, and the originality of his social and religious thinking.

This book makes no attempt to give the background, and undertakes but little analysis or interpretation of Bellers's work. It presents Bellers's

own words in easily accessible form, and in so doing is a most welcome addition to Quaker literature.

T. K. B.

The Religious Motive in Philanthropy. Studies in Biography. By Henry Bradford Washburn. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931. xix + 172 pp. $2.00.

THIS book contains five lectures delivered at the University of Pennsylvania on the Boardman Lectureship in Christian Ethics, founded in 1899 to teach "the practical application of the precepts and behavior of Jesus Christ to everyday life." Its subject matter can hardly be one of indifference to Friends. We rather pride ourselves on our philanthropies; and indeed, as one looks back over the pioneer work in philanthropy and intelligent social work done by the Quakers of an earlier generation, and reads the records of long and astonishingly generous giving of self and money to philanthropic projects as recorded in Jorns's *Quakers as Pioneers,* one concludes that the pride is justified. But what of today? Is our philanthropy as active now? And is our religious life as important to us? And is there any relation between the two?

The author, Dean Washburn of the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, Massachusetts, is no dogmatic defender of a doctrine that works without faith would be dead. On the contrary, he raises questions and challenges his readers to honest thought on them. He has noticed, he says, that while much of our philanthropy is directed by a religious motive much of it is not. His natural impulse is to believe that religion is likely to raise the quality or quantity of philanthropy; but does history bear him out? To answer his own question he selects four characters which in his judgment have done most, or at least are outstanding, for philanthropy, Samuel Barnett, Vincent de Paul, Francis of Assisi, and Jesus of Nazareth, and devotes four of the lectures to a consideration, *sub specie philanthropiae,* of their careers.

Canon Barnett (1844-1913) was a graduate of Oxford, vicar of St. Jude's Church in Whitechapel, London, founder of Toynbee Hall there, the first exemplification of the college-settlement idea, and finally Canon of Westminster. He went into the slums of Whitechapel and lived for thirty years a life of infectious gentleness and spirituality, showing his philanthropy in a most practical way, but pursuing always the idea that religious devotion to God came first and that social amelioration would probably come after.—Vincent de Paul (1576-1660), born in southern France but doing most of his life work in Paris, had a similar drive of religion. Born a peasant, he educated himself to be a priest, was sold into slavery by Turkish pirates and learned the hideousness of the galley slavery upon which the French navy depended, escaped and became a tutor to a nobleman's sons, and was finally called to the Paris of Richelieu and Mazarin. Here he became chaplain of the galleys, and founded

an association of sisters of charity, a foundling asylum, a hospital for galley slaves, and other institutions of practical philanthropy. Like Barnett, he was utterly religious, and in an age and an environment when honest religion was extraordinarily difficult in high places. The Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, a lay organization for practical charity, was founded in 1833 in his honor.—Francis of Assisi (1182-1226), whose youth was more or less frivolous, crowded into twenty-five brief years after his "conversion" an amazing achievement of spiritual discipline and insight, leading to a sweetness and saintliness and literal Christlikeness not surpassed in the annals of this era. His religion expressed itself in the most practical kind of philanthropy—visiting and healing the poor and sick and outcast, traveling on crusades and even preaching to the sultan, organizing his followers into the great and powerful Order of the Franciscans (though mere temporal organization was distasteful to him and he turned it over to others). The religious motive was if possible even more strikingly to the fore than in the case of the other two: his attempt was to sink his life and spirit in Jesus, and to live the life that Jesus would have lived.—And finally in Jesus himself Washburn sees one whose whole life was raised to a spiritual and religious level, and whose philanthropies to his fellow men flowed as inevitably from that spirit and religion as did his sense of companionship with God.

The biographies of this book are written with zest and insight. The answer to the question with which Dean Washburn starts out is not directly given; but one can see unmistakably the answer that he wants to believe—that mere scientific social work, mere dispassionate devotion to medicine or housing or sociology, will lack the fine insight into the needs of the human soul that may be achieved by one who gives himself for a mere spiritual reason. But the other question—whether religion calls forth philanthropy, or whether philanthropy prepares the heart for a deeper experience of religion—Dean Washburn does not answer. Perhaps Friends could find evidence on that point in their own past and present.

T. K. B.

For the student of music in Quakerism and its environment a recent thorough collections of evidence by Percy A. Scholes is invaluable, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England: A Contribution to the Cultural History of Two Nations* (London, Milford, 1934). The whole volume with its mass of material and underlying labors aims to refute the common notion that both in England and New England the Puritans were vigorously opposed to every sort of music. The author shows that on the contrary dancing, music, and singing were tolerated at proper times and were by no means universally suppressed. Certainly the Puritans objected to obscene or drunken singing, to elaborate music in church, and to any secular merriment on Sunday.

There are numerous references to the Quakers. Fox, Barclay, and especially (pp. 52-54) Solomon Eccles in his *Music Lector* are used as evidence that the Puritans allowed music, since the Quakers criticized them for it. Apparently the Quakers actually believed what the Puritans are wrongly accused of believing, a general objection being only current in the eighteenth century. In Appendix IX (pp. 379-81) on "The Quakers and Music," the writer says: "The views ascribed to the Puritans, on dress, amusements, and music were apparently held by the Quakers." He notes, however, the modern withdrawal of Quakerism from its former position. In spite of the author's industry he has really found little about Quaker practice. Quaker histories have not helped him at all. Perhaps the subject still needs treatment. There are data available, including in the first edition of Sewel's history, published in Dutch in 1717, not only the words as in other editions but the musical score of the hymns sung by Catharine Evans, when imprisoned by the Inquisition on Malta.

Statistics of C. O.'s in Quaker history are hard to secure and no less than elsewhere in the Southern Confederacy during the American Civil War (cf. M. E. Hirst, *The Quakers in Peace and War*, p. 441 footnote; E. N. Wright, *The Conscientious Objectors in the Civil War*, pp. 187 f). The following statement by a government official, John B. Jones (*A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, new and enlarged edition by H. Swigget, New York, 1935, Vol. II, p. 55), is of interest:

> September 28, 1863 . . . . So far, 260 Quakers, non-combatants, have been reported, mostly in North Carolina. A few cannot pay the $500—conscientiously.

A single sheet of paper, now among the treasures in the J. Pierpont Morgan Library of New York, is of great interest to Friends. It is the list of passengers on the *Speedwell,* written by the searchers at Gravesend, England, "30th may 1656." Opposite eight of the names is the letter Q, meaning Quaker, added perhaps by Governor John Endicott of Massachusetts himself when he added: "Theise were landed at Boston in N. E. the 27th of y^e^ 6 moneth 1656 J E". In the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, 65 (1935), pp. 45-47, our friend John Cox, Jr., contributes a transcript of this list more accurate than previous publications of it, with a beautifully clear photographic facsimile and notes on the eight persons marked as Quakers.

NOTE.—Through an oversight of the Editor, the list published in the last number of the BULLETIN, of biographies included in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, was referred to as the list of the Quakers included, whereas the list was made up to include not only Friends but those who had some Friendly connection, such as ancestry or the like. Thus David Rittenhouse, not himself a Friend, was included because his mother was a Welsh Friend, and his first wife, Eleanor Colston, was a Friend.

WILLIAM PENN IN THE HALL OF FAME

Our members may feel special satisfaction that the efforts of the Association, and more especially of Charles F. Jenkins and Albert Cook Myers, to secure the election of William Penn to the Hall of Fame at New York University were crowned with success at the recent quinquennial election. Three men were added to the honor roll: William Penn, Simon Newcomb, and Grover Cleveland.

The unveiling and presentation of busts of William Penn and Simon Newcomb took place in the Auditorium of New York University on May 28, 1936. The Friends' Historical Association, which had contributed $500 toward the cost of the bust, was represented by its President, William W. Comfort, who made the presentation address at the unveiling. The program of the ceremony was as follows:

Presentation of the bust of William Penn, by
Dr. William Wistar Comfort, President of Haverford College and of Friends' Historical Association.

Unveiling, by
Philip Penn-Gaskell Hall, Jr., ninth in descent from William Penn.

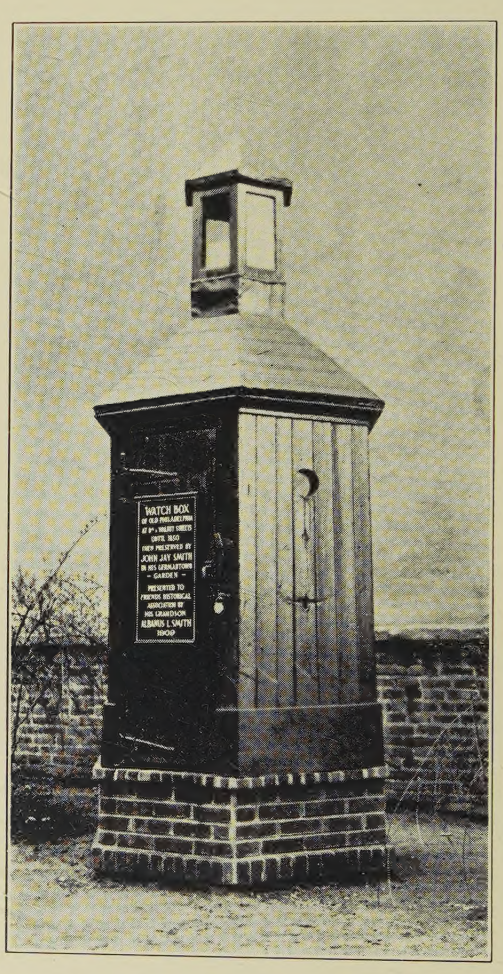
Presentation of wreath, by
Miss Miriam Louise Cummin } Seniors of the Friends
Miss Shirley-Anne Messner } Seminary, New York City.

Solo for organ:
César Franck's *Pièce Héroïque*, played by Professor Alfred M. Greenfield.

Tribute to Penn, by
His Excellency George H. Earle, Governor of Pennsylvania.

The bust was executed by A. Stirling Calder of New York, according to information supplied by Albert Cook Myers. It shows a face of youth and vigor, with flowing wig or curls, crowned by a broadbrimmed hat.

The Orthodox and Hicksite Monthly Meetings of Hopewell, Frederick County, Virginia, are celebrating the 200th anniversary of the founding of Hopewell on June 20, 1936, at Hopewell Meeting House. They are issuing a memorial history of Hopewell Monthly Meetings, in about 600 pages, under the editorship of John W. Wayland, Ph.D., covering a very interesting period of Colonial Quaker history.



Ancient Watch Box Placed in the Meeting-house Yard, Fourth and Arch Streets, Philadelphia.